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KOL MILDS Mild, but not too light.

MILD, BUT NOT TOO LIGHT

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Mobil ■. The oil that saves you gas helps get you started even at 35° below.

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TIME

A Letter from the Publisher

F or the staff of TIME, major international events often do not simply happen—they unfold slowly, develop subtly, provoke reactions from other parts of the world and change course

with maddening unpredictability. So it was with the crisis over the seizure by Iranian students of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, the subject of this week's cover story. Though the embassy compound fell to the mob quickly enough, the standoff that followed kept taking on new subplots, complications and even characters: the P.L.O., the Pope, the United Nations. Muhammad Ali. Said Senior Editor John Flson, who supervised the coverage: "It's a cover story with more imponderables and mysteries than any we've done in a long time.

International events have certainly produced their share of TIME covers in Correspondent Bruce van Voorst in Tehran the past two years: 32, of which six have

dealt at least in part with the fast-shifting fortunes of Iran. Associate Editor William Smith, who wrote last winter's cover on the Persian Gulf's "Crescent of Crisis," is responsible for the main narrative this week. As he did with most of the 40 cover stories he has handled in his nine years as a TIME writer, Smith assembled this one under a steady rain of TIME cor-



respondents' files-from the tumultuous streets of Tehran, from the tense corridors of the White House and the State Department, from the scenes of hostile confrontations between angry Americans and Iranian students in the U.S. Correspondent Peter Stoler, for many years TIME's Medicine writer, contributed an assessment of the Shah's medical problems. Associate

Editor Burton Pines, the magazine's defense specialist, analyzed the limited U.S.

military options in Iran.

But no one had a more difficult role in the cover story than Middle East Correspondent Bruce van Voorst in Tehran. Van Voorst was TIME's bureau chief in Tehran earlier this year, and so he was returning to familiar territory when he rushed to Tehran from Beirut immediately on hearing of the capture of the hostages. Among the problems he faced on his return: unruly mobs, intermittent breaks in telephone and telex communications, and a power blackout that forced him to type one long report by flashlight. Arriving in Iran under extraordinary conditions, however, is not new for Van Voorst:

nine months ago he was on the same plane with the Ayatullah Khomeini on his triumphal return from exile outside Paris.

John a. Meyers

Index

Cover: Painting by Burt Silverman.



Cover: Egged on by the Ayatullah Khomeini Tranian students assault the American embassy in Tehran and take hostages. Their goal blackmailing the U.S into surrendering the hospitalized Shah. See



World: As the First Lady visits refugee large-scale relief effort begins. ▶ South Korea's "final" report on Park's death. ▶ East bloc dissidents make common cause . An Irish rebel chief speaks out.



Volckerism: The battle against inflation is beginning to hurt. Higher interest rates and tighter credit send stock and bond prices into a slump and the housing market into turmoil. See ECONO-MY & BUSINESS.

Economy & Business

A new book lifts the

hood on General Mo-

Nation Voters in Kentucky. Mississippi and several cities stick with the Democrats. ▶ Another scandal at West

Television

ABC's The French At-All Quiet on the Western Front, major entries in the networks'

60 Behavior

A new specialty for therapists: dealing with the trauma of airline personnel and the families of victims after plane crashes.

Wagnerian Soprano Birgit Nilsson, in the U.S. after four years away, shows at 61 that age cannot touch

Energy nies use new technologies to tap America's vast reserves of shale oil, despite environmental opposition.

93

Sport Quarterback Dan Fouts of the once lowly San Diego Chargers leads the National Football League in

66

Science Scientists probe the causes of giant earthquakes that jolted Middle America in 1811 and 1812. Could

it happen again?

Books The dark side of Poet W.H. Auden is illumi nated in a new biography. > Old Love justifies I.B. Singer's Nobel Prize

75 Law

At long last, a final report in the probe of California's Supreme Court But does the outcome really clear

tors' seamy side. ▶ Iran's turmoil propels oil prices. > Rise of working women.

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Point

lantic Affair and CBS's ratings sweeps.

Music

her laser voice.

Religion

The Pope convokes Cardinals from all over to talk of cash flow and how to ease the Vatican's financial pinch.

115 Theater

116 Press



You can tell a lot about a watch by the people who wear it.

The Omega. A quartz chronometer in 14K gold and stainless steel Mode for people who want a worth that's certified incredibly accurate. Like Astronaut Scott Carpenter. Owner of serial number of 75e 82. Price: \$2.200.* Also available in 18K gold for \$5.000.* Both of these line, water resistant timepieces come in a personally engraved mahagamy presentation case. For a catalog of Omega watches for men and women, write Cmega. 301 East 57th St. New York. NY 10022.





If you don't know how much life insurance you need and can afford...

read this booklet before you talk to any agent ... even ours.

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Because so few people know how to arrive at these figures. The Bankers Life of Des Moines has prepared an impartial booklet that

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lines that can help you determine the amount of protection your family requires and what proportion of your current income it will take to pay for it.

Read this booklet now so that when you're ready to talk to a life insurance agent-ours or anyone else's-you'll be better able to discuss your needs and, between

the two of you, arrive at a wise decision. The coupon brings you this booklet free by mail. Unless you ask, we promise no one will call now or later

THE BANKERS LIFE



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rating of 18 gallons. Estimates lower in California.

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Buy or lease your new Cutlass soon, and watch the heads start to turn in your direction.

WE'VE HAD ONE BUILT FOR YOU.

Letters

Price of Power

To the Editors:

A better title for your article "What Price Power?" [Oct. 29] would have been: "What Price Weakness?" Our security is cheap at ten times the price.

Alan D. McLemore Beaumont, Texas

Only a fool (or a Communist) would be opposed to the regeneration of America's milliary might. Of course everyone would like to see broad social programs enacted in this country, but when we're looking down the barrel of the Soviet Union's atomic shotgun, there's not much choice as to priorities.

Jennifer Rice Fort Lauderdale, Fla.



You are correct in your assessment "that a nation's most fundamental social-welfare obligation to its citizens is to defend them against attack." But which attack is more real, a presupposed threat from without, or the threat of cities in decay, rampant inflation, a raging crime rate, etc.?

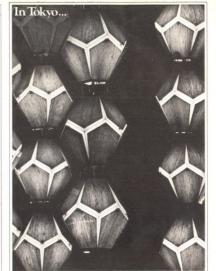
Carlos M. Magallanes Pasadena, Calif.

I have spent seven years in military service, trying to accomplish my mission with antiquated equipment and with personnel who can't even write their own names. The American people need to know what kind of Army they have defending their homes.

If they only knew the whole truth. American taxpayers would have nervous

> (SP5) Joseph Rivas U.S.A. Fort Riley, Kans.

Senator Kennedy warns against additional defense spending that will cause a "disproportionate share" of the costs to be borne by "the poor, the black, the sick the young [why did he forget the old?", the cities and the unemployed." By my



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TIME, NOVEMBER 19, 1979

Here's How You Can Become a Foster Parent

And Without Sending Any Money Now!

First:

Request a boy or girl from the country of your choice listed in coupon. Or: Check Emergency List box in

order to help a "Child of Greatest Need."
Second:

Fill out your name and address and mail coupon to Foster Parents Plan.

You do not need to send any money.

HERE'S WHAT WILL HAPPEN:

 You will receive your child's name, photograph, and a copy of the child's

and the family's personal case history.
 You will have ten days to make your final decision.

AND HERE'S WHAT YOU WILL RECEIVE!

 A complete Foster Parent Information Kit, telling you exactly how your support is helping the child, the family, and the entire community where the child lives.

The original of the personal case history of the child.

One additional photograph of your child.

Regular letters from your child.

5. Special reports from Foster Parents Plan staff workers.

6. Fact sheet about the country.

Information about the problems facing the family and community.

A complete Progress Report each year.
 A new photograph of your child each year.

The privilege of sending letters, special money gifts—and love.

Our guarantee: Your love and support will not be lost in a massive, impersonal relief program.

Instead, you will learn exactly how your \$19 monthly support helps the child, the family and the entire community. An audited financial report is available upon request.

Ready to make a decision right now? If so, fill out the coupon, enclose your first monthly support of \$19, and you will receive your complete Foster Parent Information Kit, and a child will be assigned to your love and care.

call us TOLL-FREE

800-621-5809

sytime day or night! The sconer we hear from bu, the sconer we can help your Foster Child. (In Illinois call 800-972-5858)

Johnny is a little boy with a big smile. He lives with his mother and sisters in a one-rom house made of cane. They are desperately poor. His mother cannot earn enough to support them. Johnny has hope and a reason to smile, because he now has a Foster Parent. But so many other children are waiting for your love.

Write to:

Reinhart B. Gutmann, A.C.S.W. Foster Parents Plan

157 Plan Way, Warwick, R.I. 02887

I want to become a Foster Parent to a

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Country

I want to help a "child of greatest need"

From your EMERGENCY LIST

☐ I understand you will send me a photograph and case history introducing me to a specific child. After 10 days, I will become a Foster Parent to the child, sending support of \$19 monthly, or return the material to you.

☐ I've made my decision and here's my check for \$19. Please send me a child's photograph, case history and complete Foster Parent Information Kit.

I am unable to become a Foster Parent at this time but I want to con-

tribute \$_____ Send more Information about becoming a Foster Parent.

| Name | |
|---------|---|
| Address | |
| City | |
| - | - |

Foster Parents are needed for children in Bolivia, Colorbia Ecuadro, Elalaviacof, Gualemala, Mali, Monduras, Midonesia, Mali, Nepal, Nicaragua, Pieru, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, the Budan and Upper Volta. Contributions are tax-feducible. We are a nonpolitical, ongricili, revisedtanian, independent child care organization. An internet point is available on requisel from either or contributions or Charless Replication Section, Dipartment of State, Al-

Letters

crude calculations, this leaves about 6% of us who will be obliged to pay a "proportionate share."

Gary P. Kutcher

Potomac, Md.

With people starving throughout the world, I fail to understand how the U.S. can afford to sell huge quantities of wheat to the Soviet Union so that the Communists can continue to skimp on their agricultural infrastructure in favor of weapons production. Napoleon said it. "An army travels on its stomach." If the Soviets are hungry, let them eat guns.

Arthur M. Howard

Daettlikon, Switzerland

You report General David C. Jones as arguing that SALT II is acceptable if the U.S. increases its arsenal to counter the growing Soviet threat. Does the corollary hold true, that without SALT II we would need no increase in arsenal?

It is mind boggling to think that an arms limitation treaty is only acceptable with an arms buildup.

Edward Q. Miller

South Haven, Mich.

Fallaci vs. Kissinger

I have read in TIME the reference to me in Dr. Kissinger's book (Oct. 8). I must re-establish the truth with the following observations:

1) Dr. Kissinger writes that he saw me out of vanity, in order to appear in my journalistic pantheon of world leaders, but that he had never bothered to read any of the had never bothered to read any of the had never bothered to me in his office. For one full hour he discussed my interviews with Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, All Bhutto and Yasser Arafat, and explained that leaders don't have to be intelligent, only strong and

1) Dr. Kissinger claims that I put in his mouth the "cowboy phrase". He knows very well that it was he who put the fatal words into my ears and my tape recorder. After the publication of the interview. Kissinger did not deny the cowboy reference. Nor has he ever denied it in the past seven years. What he has said is that doing the interview was the stupidest thing of his life.

3) Dr. Kissinger affirms that I have consistently refused to make the tape available to other journalists. Though I is don't travel the world with his tape in my pecket as if it were my the only the tape came to interview me in Italy for 60 Minutes and asked me to hear Kissinger's voice telling his own cowby open, I played the tape in front of the whole Cts group, and very excited, even amused.

4) Dr. Kissinger insinuates that I was "on to" something. True. I was "on to "hoping to find a man less arrogant and

IF YOU LOSE YOUR JOB, WILL "They" TAKE CARE OF YOU?

No one wants to borrow trouble, but people do lose their jobs. The unemployment rate is going up. And what if it happened to you?





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In these times of inflation and uncertainty, we want you to see for yourself the consequences of not saving. Arlington Federal urges you to consider this carefully, for the sake of your own luture hannings.



DONALD F. MORTON

HOW MUCH WILL "They" REALLY DO FOR YOU?

"They" may pay you unemployment insurance. If you are married, have two children, and your wife or husband is not working, you may get about \$200 a week for about 26 weeks. After that, you may get extended benefits, if you qualify.

IS WHAT "They" GIVE, ENOUGH FOR YOU TO LIVE ON? Would that cover your living expenses?

Payments on your home, car, refrigerator, TV, or your other credit purchases? What about your health insurance, or your children's education? Your own expenses in finding another job?

ASAVINGS "CUSHION"
COULD TIDE YOU OVER

AND WHAT ABOUT YOUR PEACE OF MIND?

How are you going to get a new job.... good job...! you're worrying about where you uses peinty is coming from? If ever in you life you need peace of mind, this would be time. Nothing in the world can give you complete peace of mind... but some things can fiely.

A SAVINGS "CUSHION" WILL HELP

EVEN IF YOU DON'T LOSE YOUR JOB

... other emergencies come into your life. And these are the things that "They" don't do anything about. Such as when you find the roof won't make it through another winter; or your daughter tells you that's she's getting married in June.

ASK YOURSELF: CAN YOU AFFORD NOT TO SAVE?

You owe it to yourself, your family, and your peace of mind, to have a savings "cushion" of at least six months income. It could make all the difference in your world.



THE WIZARD OF

Enter the world of Benihana Feel the wormth of the graceful oriental decar the soft relaxing samisen music And get ready for an oriental mosterpiece Ahhh Suddenly your chef

appears and the feast begins Prepared on a hibochi grill right before vour eves

For openers theres onion soup Japanese style Next crisp green solad Sizzling succulent shrimp Ahhh

Then the main course Your choice of entrees Like render boneless breasts of chicken Specially selected fresh bean sprouts Mushrooms Zucchini

And onions Sliced and diced into slender, mouthwatering slivers. And rice And piping hot green teo Ahhh

It's a complete dinnerall included in a magical experience you'll never forget Ahhh

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Letters

more coherent than the one portrayed in those days by the American press I failed. and my interview with him thus remains the worst I have ever done, the most boring. in every sense

Oriana Fallaci Rome

Wallace doesn't remember it quite that way He recalls hearing parts of a scratchy tape with the voice of Henry Kissinger saying something that was not as simple and dramatic as it appeared in the printed Fal-

Nobel Prizes

In your article "The Nobel Prizes' [Oct. 29], you state that "the social sciences are frequently not so intellectually taxing as scientific research." If the study of philosophy is simpler than physics, then why are we still perplexed by the same age-old queries in philosophy, while the results of scientific research have propelled man to the moon and provided us with "miracle drugs"?

Madison, Wis

Is it possible that "the ablest students are headed for law or medicine" because they realize that we are endangered today by yesterday's science? Maybe they are compelled by conscience to protect and heal the delicate creation that yesterday's scientists probed with freedom. and all the damage that entails I hope so. Our future depends upon more than the "glory of science. (The Rev.) N Peter Flocken

Utica, N.Y

On behalf of myself and the 650 million people of India. I wish to express my joy that the Nobel Peace Prize for 1979 has been awarded to Mother Teresa. No

other person deserves it more

Alta Ahmad Chappagua, N.Y

I was surprised and very disappointed that President Carter wasn't given the

Nobel Peace Prize He earned it June Lund Florissant, Mo

I read with interest your fine article on the Nobel Prizes for 1979 However, I Nowhere in your article did you mention the institutions that encouraged the research, or the granting agencies that provided the necessary financial support for the awardees Purdue University has been my home for more than 32 years and has provided an ideal environment for the research that my students and I have carried out Financial support for various aspects of my research has been provided by the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the U.S. Army Research Office and Albany International. All are major contributors

Look what's catching fire.

In a recent article, Business Week magazine reported that,

"The radio business is enjoying a prosperity undreamed of just five years ago."

Americans spend more money in a year for new radio sets (\$3.5 billion) than they do for tickets to all spectator sports.

Every day, radio leads all media in the number of people reached. And the average American spends three hours and 23 minutes a day listening.

So it's no wonder that more and more advertisers are using radio as a primary medium.

Retailers warm up.

The first group that warmed up to radio were the retailers and the reason was simple: results.

Local advertisers with their

"cash register" sense have flocked to radio. In the past 10 years local retail businesses increased their expenditure in radio by 185%. Well ahead of advertising's total growth.

Recognition of radio's ability to produce results is also spreading among national advertisers.

Hot national campaigns.

Maxwell House coffee did a searching study of their marketing needs. When they finished, they moved a substantial portion of the budget into radio.

When Chevrolet launched a major promotion ("National Chevy Week"), they chose radio as their primary medium.

Revion's OXY 5 used radio as its primary medium to become number one in the skin treatment field in four years.

And radio has been the primary medium for Western Union's successful Mailgram program since its beginning.

Costs stay cool.

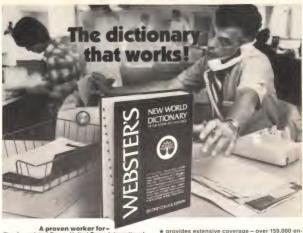
Radio users have also received another pleasant surprise. Between 1967 and 1979, tele-

Between 1967 and 1979, television's CPM went up 103%. Newspapers jumped 111%. Outdoor 102%. Magazines 58%.

Radio's CPM on the other hand is up only 52% during the same period. So R-A-D-I-O spells relief from the declining power of your advertising dollar.

Want more facts? For a copy of the Radio Facts Book, call us at (212) 599-6666. Radio Advertising Bureau, Inc. 485 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.





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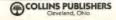
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Letters

and they, along with my highly productive students, should share in the recognition provided by the Nobel award.

Herbert C. Brown West Lafayette, Ind. this year's Nobel Prize

The writer shared this year's Nobel Prize in Chemistry.

Insidious Fashions

The French and their insidious "fashions" [Oct. 29]! First I hear the miniskirt is making a comeback. "Well." I console myself, "you'll just have to live in pants until the phase passes." Then I see your story on the new baggy pants...

Mary L. Kozma Trenton, N.J.

Back in the '40s in Los Angeles, we made who wore baggy pants called them zoot suits or, in the case of the trousers alone, drapes. Well, maybe on the modern woman they are saggy or baggy. On us they looked good, or did we really look that ridiculous?

Glenn Snodgrass Chatsworth, Calif.

The cycle of styling jeans will have run the gamut when they are worn with one leg cut off at the crotch and the other ankle length.

Alice Deus

Hammond, Ind.

Connally's Appeasement

You discuss John Connally's looking beyond the so-called Jewish yote to the larger issue [Oct. 22]. Big John is quite prepared to July the appeasement game of the prepared to July the appeasement game over a huge portion of the Middle East to the Soviet-backed P.L.O.. one wonders now that the prepared to commit to the area in order to ensure our oil mit to the area in order to ensure our oil supply. (Clara P. Trefethen

Tonawanda, N.Y.

While Connally's proposal for a comprehensive Arab-Israeli settlement based on U.S. military presence seems attractive, it is dangerously myopic. A foreign military presence would be actively opposed by Arab nationalists, not to mention the Soviets, thereby creating: 1 merous confrontation and jeopardizing U.S. access to stable oil flow. Mahda' Y Khatuat

Goleta, Calif.

Setting the Record Straight

I must take issue with the article titled "Blasting a G-Man Myth" about the capture of Charles ("Pretty Boy") Floyd (Sept. 24). You reported that Chester Smith. a former member of the East Liverpool. Ohio, police department, said that he decided it was proper to set "I never knew gold rum tasted like

If you're still drinking Canadian & soda... It's because you haven't tasted gold rum & soda.

That's the reaction that's made Puerto Rican Gold Rum one of the fastest growing liquors in America today. It's the smooth alternative to bourbons, blends, Canadians even Scotch.

Try our Gold Rum with soda, ginger ale, or on the rocks. The first sip will amaze you. The second will convert you. Make sure the rum is Puerto Rican. The people of Puerto Rico have been making rum for almost five centuries. Their specialized skills and dedication result in a rum of exceptional taste and purity.

No wonder over 85% of the rum sold in this country comes from Puerto Rico

PUERTO RICAN RUMS

Aged for smoothness and is For fee Light Roms of Pietra Ribb is you will be James Big in Dept. 1-13, 1290 Avenue of the American, NY 5x 1 - 11 is 2519 a mornocassa that is NY 5x 1 - 11 is 2519 a mornocassa that is a

WHAT KIND OF CAVIAR DO YOU EAT WHEN YOU DRINK THE WORLD'S FINEST VODKA?

Many people consider caviar and iced vodka one of the world's most lux urious combinations. Especially when the vodka is Finlandia

Finlandia is like no other vodka in the world. The water used to make it, for instance, is naturally filtered through a 10,000-year-old glacial moraine for-mation in Finland.

This results in the clean, icy character that makes Finlandia an elegant experience in itself. On the rocks or straight from the freezer

or schaiger from our prezen.
Of course from want to eat as well as you drink, you can't settle for just any cavian Only a few are uverity of Finlandia. And they are very expensive.
But if you didn't want the finest, would you be serving. Finlandia Vodka in the first place?

PORTED FINLANDIA: THE WORLD'S FINEST VODKA



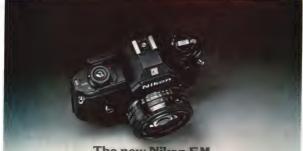
SEVRUGA

bout \$125.00 per 140unce

OSETRA

LOJ ROM.

fresh salmon roe has an almost crunch texture and is unavailable in this country ose who want the experience of the tiny iins bursting in their mouths must pay the fare from Scandinavia. Well worth the trip



The new Nikon EM

From the legend that is Nikon comes the new Nikon EM. A lightweight, automatic 35mm camera designed to make great pictures simpler and more foolproof than ever before. A camera that gives you beautiful pictures that are

Sharp, and clear, automatically ... alive with rich colors and vivid detail, because the EM is precisionengineered by Nikon. Acclaimed by one

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at an affordable price. And, from the very first roll, you'll find it's also easy to use, because.

Nikon's exclusive electronics automatically set the correct exposure! All you do is focus and shoot. There's even a unique audible warning signal that tells you if the light's not right. And to add more excitement.

The Nikon EM has its own low-cost accessories. A completely automatic flash. A dynamic lightweight motor drive for

action sequences and utomatic film advance. Superb Nikon

Series E lenses for wide-angle and telephoto shots. Now the greatest name in photography can be

ours. Nikon EM. It's not just a camera. It's a Nikon.

for pictures this sharp, this clear, automatically.



m Camera 1980 Summer Olympic Ga

Nikon Inc. 1979 Garden City, New York 11530



There are a lot of reasons you'll want these Florsheim Moccasins. The rich glove-like leather, for example, that's so incredibly soft. The classic hand-laced designs that are smart enough to wear just about anywhere. The full leather linings for extra comfort inside. And the wide range of sizes to assure you of that famous Florsheim fit. But perhaps the best reason is how much value you'll get for your money. Visit your Florsheim dealer and find out for yourself.

Florsheim

Letters

the record straight now because of the several men involved, only he remains

I was one of the four special agents of the FBI (known at the time as the Division of Investigation) who apprehended Floyd on a farm several miles from East Liverpool on Oct 22, 1934, and I am very

To begin with, Mr. Smith did not capture Floyd The truth is he was shot by two of the four IBI agents present when Floyd aimed his gun at them. After he was shot, two or three members of the East Liverpool police department who were in the immediate area at the time came up to us and offered assistance in directing us to the morgue in East Liverpool. Floyd was then transported to the morgue in my Government-owned car

According to your article. Smith said that "Purvis ran up and ordered Back away from that man. I want to talk to him Pretty Boy glared and cursed at which point, said Smith, Purvis turned to G-Man Herman Hollis and said Tire into him 'Hollis obeyed, said Smith, killing Floyd with a burst from a tommy

For your information. Agent Hollis whom I knew personally, was not even present when Floyd was apprehended The allegation that Purvis ordered an agent to "fire into Floyd" as described above is absolutely false. The truth is that when the several members of the Last Liverpool police department came up to where Floyd was lying on the ground, he had already been mortally wounded

Winfred E. Honton

A Native Complaint

How would Contributor John Skow know about New Hampshire and its polities (Oct. 29), gazing at us natives from his lofty perch in snooty New London Skow can poke fun at us. However, when the chips are down, name me one President in the past five decades who made it without first doing damn well in the New Hampshire primary

And listen. Skow, ya am't a local fella till ya lived here fawty years

Bernard A Streeter Jr.

Since 1952, the first year New Hampshire had a presidential preference primary nobody has won the presidency who did not win the New Hampshire primary

Avuh You get some dark horse politician here this winter who'll not only stomp through our snow but also spend a week in one of our cold houses, and he won't be dark any more, he'll be blue M. Cyreme Wells

Epsom N H

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Nation

TIME/NOV. 19, 1979

Blackmailing the U.S.

The lives of some 60 Americans hung in the balance in Tehran



Image of an outrage: an American hostage with his student captors in the garden of the U.S. embassy in Tehran after the seizure

t was an ugly, shocking image of innocence and impotence, of tyranny and terror of madness and mob rule Blindfolded and bound, employees of the U.S. embassy in Tehran were paraded last week before vengeful crowds while their youthful captors gloated and jeered. On a gray Sunday morning, students invoking the name of Iran's Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini invaded the embassy. overwhelmed its Marine Corps guards and took some 60 Americans as hostages. Their demand: surrender the deposed Shah of Iran, currently under treatment in Manhattan for cancer of the lymphatic system and other illnesses, as the price of the Americans' release. While flatly refusing to submit to such outrageous blackmail, the U.S. was all but powerless to free the victims. As the days passed, nerves became more frayed and the crisis deepened. So far as was known, the hostages had been humiliated but not harmed. Yet with demonstrators chanting "Death to America" outside the compound, there was no way to guarantee that the event would not have a violent ending

In Washington, there were round-theclock meetings of the National Security Council At the State Department's operations center, Iranian specialists franticalby tried to keep in touch with Tehran and with the few American officials there who were not in the students' hands. In New York City, the United Nations Security Council convened in special closed session to search for a solution. Said Jimmy Carter to reporters on Thursday: "These last two days have been the worst I've had." Secretary of State Cyrus Vance counseled the nation grimly and correctly: "It is a time not for rhetoric, but for quiet, careful and firm diopmacy."

Meanwhile, a wave of anger spread across the U.S. (see box). On campuses, Iranian flags were torched and the Ayatullah Khomeini was burned in effigy. In Beverly Hills, an anti-Shah demonstration by Iranian students turned into a near riot, with onlookers shouting obscenities at the Iranians. In New York City, at the close of an Iranian student demonstration. a Columbia University undergraduate shouted: "We're gonna ship you back, and you aren't gonna like it! No more booze. No more Big Macs. No more rock music. No more television. No more sex. You're gonna get on that plane at Kennedy, and when you get off in Tehran. you're gonna be back in the 13th century. How you gonna like that?" The Iranians, who stared back glumly, did not respond.

At week's end the impasse remained unresolved. The American hostages, under guard in the embassy, were visited by swedjish. Syrian and other diplomats. Some were allowed to send letters, and 33 reputedly signed a petition supporting their captors' demand that the U.S. extraction that the control of the send of the se

the moment much chance of direct negotiations for the prisoners' release.

The seizure of the embassy and its staff was an ugly permutation of the acts of political terrorism to which the world has grown increasingly accustomed. Most Iranians detest the Shah for the excesses of his regime, and what they feel was his plundering of their country. Many objected to the Carter Administration's decision to admit him to the U.S. under any circumstances. But the students who attacked the U.S. mission were not political adventurers with a lonely, unpopular cause. They were citizens of a state that maintains diplomatic relations with the U.S. Their invasion of the embassy violated a principle of diplomatic immunity that even the most radical and hostile governments have professed to respect. Most important of all, their action was condoned-if not instigated-by Khomeini. Iran's de facto head of state and a leader who himself had sought and received political asylum in the West

or the Administration—and for President Carter personally—the seizure of the embassy was a nightmare. A, its very wors, it could lead to the deaths of the Americans, and endanger the 300 or so other U.S. citizens still in fran—all of whom were advised by the State Department to leave the country as expeditiously as possible. However the crisis ends, it seems likely to enhance the impression of American helplessness. That image is not merely the stuff from which demagoguery is made: it is also the serrous preoccupation of political and milipression of U.S. impotence, however uniform of the service process of the service probes of the nation's will, other attacks. In the long run, it could create a willingness on the part of the Soviet Union world implications.

That is the concern of former Secretary of Defense (and more recently, of Energy) James Schlesinger. In an interview last week with TIME Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott. Schlesinger described the fall of the Shah last January and the rise of Khomeini as "a cataclysm for American foreign policy-the first serious revolution since 1917 in terms of world impact." Said Schlesinger: "It is plain that respect for the U.S. would be higher if we didn't just fumble around continuously and weren't half-apologetic about whatever we do. An image of weakness is going to elicit this kind of behavior. Wild as the Avatullah seems to be. he would not dare to touch the Soviet embassy. The point is that the Soviets are in a position, and of a disposition, not to take such events lying down. The fact of the matter is, as Mr. Nixon used to say, if we want to be a pitiful, helpless giant, we're well on the way to seeming to be one."

As for Carter, he knew that the aix tack in Iran would inevitably worsen his "leadership" problem and make his quest for a second term more difficult. The circumstances required a restrained response and infinite patience; yet this very stance would reinforce the public's perception of the Presentione the public's perception of the Presentione the potential damage in his candidacy, but concluded that he had little choice but to act as he did.

As frustrain about the plight of the

hostages increased, there was a sense that the Administration should do something -anything-to free them. The White House, for sound tactical and strategic reasons, rejected the military options (see box). There were demands for the mass deportation of the 50,000 Iranian students in the U.S .- or at least those who had taken advantage of their visas to picket and demonstrate against the U.S. That was also rejected, since it would blatantly violate U.S. immigration laws. Instead. as it has had to do in a number of other recent crises, the Administration decided on restraint. Initially, the White House asked Iranian Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan to intervene. But last Tuesday, after months of trying to steer his country on a rational course, Bazargan resigned in frustration and anger, thus bringing down his government. Carter then designated former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and onetime State Department Iranian Expert William Miller as his personal en-



An American flag on fire in Tehran

Nation





A Tehran "scaffold" labeled "For the Shah"

voys, both of whom knew Khomeini; the Ayatuliah refused to see them. After that, the U.S. consented to try the good offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization. and still later it called on the U.N. for help The crisis began last Sunday, at a time

when relations between the U.S. and Iran were, in the words of former Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi, "lukewarm but improving." Only three days earlier, Prime Minister Bazargan had held a cordial 90minute meeting with National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski in Algiers. where both men were attending the 25th

anniversary celebration of the start of the Algerian war of independence from France. The Iranians had long since resumed U.S. oil shipments, which had been disrupted by strikes and fighting earlier in the year. The National Iranian Oil Co. (NIOC) is now selling about 700,000 bbl. a day to the U.S. (compared with 900,000 bbl. a day when the Shah ruled Iran), or about 3.7% of American petroleum needs. The U.S. had resumed the sale of spare military parts as requested by the Tehran government. Last week the Administration quietly halted those shipments.

These improving relations were pos-

sible, in part, because the Carter Administration months earlier had quietly persuaded the deposed Shah not to seek permanent sanctuary in the U.S. Though reluctant to do so, the Administration had concluded that the Shah's safety could not be guaranteed against the thousands of Iranian students in the U.S. Nor could Washington realistically hope that the Khomeini-dominated regime would not resort to a campaign of reprisals against the U.S., through either an oil embargo or assaults against Americans in Iran. But last month, after the Administration learned that the Shah was seriously ill. it



granted him a temporary visa to visit New York City for medical treatment.

That decision was not taken lightly. Most Iran specialists in the State Department, buttressed by warnings from the embassy in Tehran, were convinced that the Shah should not be allowed into the U.S. even for emergency medical care. They cited explicit threats from members of the Revolutionary Council as well as from the Iranian embassy in Washington. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs David Newsom, who is in charge of day-to-day U.S. policy toward Iran, agreed with that assessment. He sought to persuade Secretary of State Cyrus Vance that, regardless of political and humanitarian motives, the granting of even a temporary visa to the Shah would have devastating consequences for American interests in Iran. Vance disagreed, and advised the President to grant the Shah a temporary visa. Carter was glad to make the humanitarian gesture. The Tehran government was assured that the Shah was indeed a sick man, that his visit was not a ruse to seek permanent residency and had no political purpose. Iranian authorities warned that the Shah's medical pilgrimage could have "negative consequences." At the same time, Bazargan's government twice assured Washington that Americans in Iran would be adequately protected against any reprisals.

After the Shah's arrival in New York in late October, Iranian students in the U.S. launched a series of protests. There were daily picket lines outside New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, where the Shah was undergoing treatment (see box). Members of one group chained themselves to railings inside the Statue of Liberty for three hours; others made an abortive raid on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. Far more ominous was the fusillade of anti-American rhetoric launched by Ayatullah Khomeini, Denouncing the U.S. as "the great Satan. he compared the relationship between the U.S. and Iran to "the friendship between a wolf and a lamb." U.S. officials asked for, and got, a third assurance from Bazargan that U.S. citizens in Iran would be shielded from attack.

n Sunday, Nov. 4, hundreds of protesters gathered in downtown Tehran outside the U.S. embassy. a 27-acre compound surrounded by ten- and twelve-foot brick walls and secured with metal gates. The students. most of whom were unarmed, chanted anti-American slogans and carried banners: DEATH TO AMERICA IS A BEAUTI-FUL THOUGHT and GIVE US THE SHAH. At the very hour at which the demonstration was taking place in Tehran, the Ayatullah Khomeini was telling a student in the holy city of Oum, some 80 miles to the south, that foreign "enemies" were plotting against the Iranian revolution. Repeatedly, he charged that the American embassy in his country's capital was "a nest of spies" and "a center of intrigue.

That was all the inspiration the stu-



Political poster: "When the devil [the Shah] goes, the angel [Khomeinl] arrives"



Anti-American demonstrators demanding Shah's extradition from U.S.



Khomeini's son (center) and student leaders at press conference
There was no guarantee that the event might not have a violent ending





U.S. troops landing at Beirut airport, Lebanon, in 1958

Paratroopers training at Fort Bragg

The Marines Are Ruled Out

The frustration was almost palpable. There was the U.S., long a superpower, being nakedly blackmailed last week by a mob of fanatical Iranian students. The whole world, so it seemed, was witnessing Washington's lumination as the Carter Administration desperately struggled to find an ac-

ceptable solution. What could Washington do' Diplomacy did not seem to be getting very far, nor were appeals—via many channels—on the Iranian students to be reasonable. It was no won-der that an increasing number of Americans, in private conversations and in thousands of calls and telegrams to their elected representatives, began raising an old, familiar crysend in the Marines. Or at least, they exclaimed, do something tough, such as dispatching warnings to the Persian Why can't the U.S., they asked, act as boldly as did Israel in July 1976, when its commandos rescued Israeli hostages at Ugands's Entebbe Airport?

Indeed, such a move by the U.S. would scarcely be without precedent. A landful of Marines, for example, were landed in Tipoli in 180 to punish the Barbary pirates, and a century lates some 2.500 American servicemen were rushed to diplomatic missions in Peking. It was in part to protect American lives that Dwigh, Eisenhower dispatched Marines to Lebanoo in 1958, and Lyndon Johnson sent them to the Dominican Republic in 1965. In Washington's most recent use of force, Gernal Ford ordered U.S. units to retake the Dominican Republic in 1965. In Washington's most recent use of force, Gernal Ford ordered U.S. units to retake the Obdist a paw Communist regime in May 1975.

Would it thus not be natural, if the Americans continued to be held hotsage, for Washington to dispatch commandos to rescue them? TiME put this question to nearly two dozen experts in ado uto Government. Their near unanimous negative conclusion was summed up by Elino Zumwall Jime former Chief or Navai Operations: "I think it is prety the former Chief or Navai Operations: "I think it is prety the former Chief or Navai Operations: "I think it is prety retired Marine Corps Commandant: "You could kill a lot of Imanian, but you wouldn't save the Americans."

As in most military actions of this kind, surprise is sential. But in a case like Iran's, it would be very difficult to achieve. Without surprise, hostages could be killed once their captors discovered that a rescue was under way. One major problem last week was that no U.S. combat units were near Iran. The 51.000-ton carrier Midway. with its 75 warplanes,

was about 2,000 miles away in the Indian Ocean, and the Colest Marine Amphibious Force was inthe Medicierranean. While the Army's 82nd Airborne Division is trained for quick deployment to global hotopos, its base at Fort Brags. N.C., is 6,500 miles from Tehran, it probably would not be clied to the control of the contro

Surprise is also difficult because U.S. planes would be detected as they neared Iran. Even though the Iranian air force's capability has deteriorated dramatically in the past year, its radar units might well be able to pick up approaching aircraft. In any event, the Soviets would surely spot the American planes. Observed Zumait: "The Russians would alert the Iranians just to cause us trouble." There would also be the possibility, though not great, that U.S. planes could be shot down by Iranian antiaircraft missiles—all of course supplied by the U.S.

Even if a rescue force managed to land undetected at Mehrabad Airport, the chances of saving the hostages would still be slim to none. In contrast to the Entebbe situation, where the Israelis were being held at a relatively lightly guarded airport on the outskirts of Kampala, a city with a were in downtown Tehran. To get to the embasty. U.S. forces would have to fight their way through streets probably clogged deliberately by huge crowds called out by the Ayatuilah Khomeini. Many Iraniana would undoubtedly have weapons, including perhaps a few of their army's arrheady have weapons, including perhaps a few of their army's arrhead way the contrast of the contrast

In fact, through most of last week, U.S. officials were mote even sure eastly where all the hostages were, although it was assumed that they were inside the sprawing, 27-acre mehassy compound. Because Washington had no direct commentation in Iran depended mostly on secondhand information, relayed by other diplomatic missions in Tehran or monitored from Iranian radio broadcasts. There this was the chilling possibility that a daring rescue operation, after enormous rads, might reach the embasy only to find it empty. The child is the commentation of the commentat

So enormous would be the problems of using force, therefore, that the Carter Administration could never seriously consider the military option.

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dents needed. Just before 11 a.m., someone with a pair of powerful shears managed to break the chain that held together the gates on Taleghani Street, and the crowd surged through. Once inside the compound, some headed for the ambassador's residence, where the servants offered no resistance (there has been no U.S. ambassador in Tehran since William Sullivan left in April). Others tried to take over the chancellery but found it protected with armor plating and grillwork. Using bullhorns, they shouted at the occupants: "Give up and you won't be harmed! If you don't give up, you will be killed!" As the attackers struggled to get inside, other protesters and a crowd of curiosity seekers clambered over the embassy walls and swarmed through the compound

Inside the two-story brick chancellery building, known to Americans as "Fort Anache" for its special security reinforcements. Marine guards donned flak jackets and gas masks and ordered everyone to the top floor. There, in the ambassador's office. Political Officer Victor Tomseth was on the phone to the embassy's ranking officer. Chargé d'Affaires L. Bruce Laingen, who was at the Foreign Ministry. Other embassy officers quickly telephoned other Iranian officials, trying to get help. Just before 1 p.m., Laingen gave Tomseth the order: "Final destruction. Immediately, embassy officers grabbed files from safes and began shredding and burning classified documents

Finally, after stalling as long as possible, a Marine opened the door, and students rushed in, their eyes moist from tear gas. The students grabbed the masks of the Americans. Said one attacker: "We had the gas for three hours. You can taste it for a while." Then they blindfolded the embassy staff, bound their hands and made them sit on a corridor floor. Soon the students put one of their prisoners on parade, draping his body with a Khomeini poster. One attacker brandished a picture of the Ayatullah that, he claimed, embassy personnel had used as a dart board.

o shots were fired inside the chancellery, which may have disappointed the students. Said one: "If the Marines don't shoot, we take over. If they do, we have our martyr, Either way, we win." Any hopes that embassy officials had once had of preventing attackers from scaling the walls of the compound were abandoned after last February's assault, when Muslim guerrillas easily overpowered a handful of Iranian police guards and the embassy's Marines. The basic defense plan of the embassy was simply to have the Marines hold off any assault long enough for sensitive material to be destroyed

While their comrades were seizing the chancellery, another group of students was breaking into the heavily secured consulate section, which had just been rebuilt (at a cost of \$500,000) to speed up the issuance of visas for thousands of Iranians

seeking to go to the U.S. One irony of the situation was that in recent weeks the crowds of Iranians around the embassy had been there to try and get visas to the U.S. Noted the English-language Tehran Times: "Despite the public denunciations. the U.S. embassy has often presented the spectacle of being mobbed one day by visa seekers and the next by demonstrators condemning the U.S.

By 4 p.m. the compound was com-

pletely in the hands of the students, who now numbered about 600. Soon afterward the group, which called itself the "Muslim Students of the Imam Khomeini Line," issued "Communiqué No. 1." It announced that the occupation of "this nest of intrigue" was a protest against "the U.S. offer of asylum to this criminal Shah who was responsible for the deaths of thouover and over to reach the acting Defense Minister: Mike Matrinko, who was a consul in Tabriz last spring when the mission was overrun by revolutionaries: and John Graves, the bearded public affairs officer Chargé d'affaires Laingen stayed at the Foreign Ministry all week, filing protests and trying to keep in touch with the State Department in Washington.

Though the Ayatullah Khomeini's precise role in the embassy affair was not known, it was obvious that the student occupiers looked to him for leadership. Because Khomeini demanded that the British government surrender the Shah's last Prime Minister. Shahpour Bakhtiar. the students on Monday evening briefly occupied the British embassy in Tehran. They left after only six hours, presumably because they had learned what their



State Department officials following Tehran developments at Iran crisis room Quiet, careful diplomacy, and a frantic effort to try to keep in touch.

sands of Iranians." By Monday the streets outside the embassy were jammed with thousands of people. Perhaps the lightest moment in a generally grim day was the arrival of Khomeini's only surviving son. Seyyed Ahmed Khomeini. 36. As he was hoisted over the high wall. Khomeini lost both his white turban and his sandals. causing his aides to plead to the crowd. 'Where is the squire's turban?" Then the younger Khomeini announced that he. like his father, supported the embassy takeover. "This is not an occupation." he

said. "We have thrown out the occupiers." Fearful for the safety of the hostages. the State Department refused to release their names, but the identities of most of them gradually became known. Among them were political officers. Marines, code clerks, secretaries, the kinds of people who staff American embassies throughout the world. Tomseth, the second in command. was the ranking captive. Those held included Mike Holland, the burly security chief: Ann Swift, an efficient. Farsi-speaking officer who during the takeover tried

Imam had not: that Bakhtiar m in exile not in Britain but in France, which also gave asylum to Khomeini before his triumphal return to Iran in February

Late in the week the student occupiers of the embassy released the contents of two highly sensitive documents that embassy personnel had apparently not had time to destroy. Both seemed to show that the Administration, at least as of last summer, had been considering "the inevitable step" of allowing the Shah to enter the U.S. The first cable, which was sent by Henry Precht, director of the State Department's Office of Iranian Affairs to Laingen in Tehran on Aug. 2. proposed that sometime before January 1980 the U.S. should inform the Iranian government of the "intense pressures for the Shah to come here, pressures which we are resisting despite our traditional opendoor policy

The document noted that it would "help substantially" if the Shah would "renounce his family's claim to the throne." Further, it acknowledged that the admis-

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President Carter and Secretary Vance talking to relatives of hostages

sion of the Shah to the U.S. might create | withstanding, the State Department flatsecurity problems for Americans in Tehran, but commented: "We have the impression that the threat to U.S. embassy personnel is less now than it was in the spring." In any case, it continued, the U.S. would make no move toward admitting the Shah until "we have obtained and tested a new and substantially more effective guard force" for the embassy

he second document, a cable signed by Secretary of State Vance to Laingen last July, also discussed "the Shah's desire to reside in the U.S." It asked Laingen what effect this might have on the safety of Americans in Iran and on U.S. relations with the Iranian government, particularly if the Shah were to renounce the throne and agree to abstain from all political activity while living in the U.S. Vance added: "We understand the key to minimizing the impact of the Shah's comission would be in willingness and ability in such a situation to control and command the security forces guarding our people.

On the surface, at least, the documents appeared to confirm the students' fears that Washington was secretly plotting to let the Shah gain sanctuary in the U.S. State Department officials insisted that the cables had been released out of context, and were only two of many informal messages about the problem of the Shah that went back and forth between the embassy and Washington. Last week the White House acknowledged that there had indeed been much correspondence mulling over U.S. policy toward the Shah's sanctuary problem. A top Administration official further conceded to TIME that "Henry Kissinger, IChase Manhattan Bank Chairman| David Rockefeller and the Council on Foreign Relations have made perfectly clear their desire to have the Shah here." Such pressure notly insisted last week that the purloined cables reflected the dialogue and debate of policymakers, and not established pol-The Administration's decision to admit the Shah temporarily for treatment. they said, was based on humanitarian

grounds and nothing else.

President Carter was first informed of the seizure of the embassy as he was spending a quiet weekend at Camp David He conferred by phone several times during the day with top advisers, including Vance and Brzezinski. The President was grim-faced when he arrived at the White House at 8:15 Monday morning; he promised newsmen a statement, but then decided to wait for further developments. Meanwhile, the National Security Council went into almost continuous session Initially. Washington had been relieved to receive Prime Minister Bazargan's promise that he was ready to help. But Bazargan's position was weak-much weaker, perhaps, than Washington had realized. He had tried to resign several times after taking office last February, because it was increasingly clear that Khomeini and his followers, not the government, ruled Iran In September, Bazargan told a television audience. "The government has been a knife with no blade." In an interview with Italian Journalist Oriana Fallaci, he said: "Khomeini has never been a real politician. He's never had the training needed to face the administrative responsibilities that he now finds on his shoulders. In fact. he doesn't understand government, he doesn't know the techniques for administering a country." On Tuesday, realizing that Khomeini and his advisers were supporting the embassy siege. Bazargan at last resigned He had been particularly stung when the students charged him with 'treason" for having talked to the Americans, a cruel criticism of a politician who had fought the Shah for decades and spent years in prison as a result

Although he dutifully supported the Ayatullah, Bazargan was strongly devoted to human rights, democracy and moderation. His resignation will reinforce the power of the ruling clergy, many of whom do not share his concern. The Bazargan government will be replaced by the Revolutionary Council, the quasi-legislative body of 15 members that Khomeini appointed while in exile in France last November. During the revolution the council quickly took over the levers of power -the network of komitelis, the revolutionary tribunals that have since ordered the execution of more than 600 people, and the Islamic guards. Now it will take over the government as well. At the same time, an "Assembly of Experts" is drawing up a new constitution that will establish Iran as a theocratic state. The constitution specifies that the state will be ruled by a





Two of the embassy hostages-Public Affairs Officer John Graves and a Marine guard "Give up and you won't be harmed. If you don't give up, you will be killed.

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Nation

"just, brave, popularly accepted theologian who is abreast of the times," and who will have the power to dissolve parliament, fire the President, and nullify any legislation he feels is contrary to Islamic law. Khomeini will surely decide that he himself has the necessary qualifications.

Some critics of Khomeini charge that one of his motives in inciting the students was to distract his country's attention from problems that his revolution has been unable to solve. The economy remains a shambles, with constant food shortages. The flight of the middle class continues, as evidenced by the numbers of people who are trying to secure visas to the U.S. and Western Europe.

There is deep-rooted resistance to the Tehran government in areas of the country dominated by Iran's powerful, restless minorities. In northwestern Iran a struggle by the Kurds for autonomy has already claimed hundreds of lives. The government realized last month that a continuing guerrilla war in Kurdistan would be disastrously expensive for Tehran and agreed to send four Cabinet ministers to negotiate with the Kurdish rebels. Khomeini said last week that he wanted the mission to continue. But the danger is that, with Bazargan gone, hardliners on the Revolutionary Council might be tempted to try for a quick military solution, thereby inflaming the Kurds once more. That in turn could lead to interference by neighboring Iraq, which has a substantial and equally restless Kurdish population of its own

similar difficulty exists in Khuzistan, center of the Iranian oil industry. The Khomeini regime has alienated the 2 million Shi'ite Arabs of Khuzistan, particularly the oilfield workers, who feel that their strikes made a significant contribution to the overthrow of the Shah. The Iranian oil industry also needs technocratic leadership. which the Avatullah has been unable or unwilling to provide. The current oil minister. Ali Akbar Moinfar, last week announced that he would suspend shipments to the U.S. "the moment we get orders from the Imam." In fact, no such order was issued, and U.S. companies said that there seemed to be no disruption in supplies. Iran, however, did notify some customers that they would receive 5% less oil than they expected for the rest of the year. No reason was given. The previous oil administrator, Hassan Nazih, had far more autonomy in carrying out his responsibilities. But he resented the constant intervention of the ayatullahs, said so, and was forced out last September. For good measure, the government issued a summons for Nazih's arrest, but he managed to escape to West Germany. Partly as a result of such political interference and mishandling, Iran's oil production gyrates between 2.3 million bbl. and 3.3 million bbl. per day.

It is no surprise that the Ayatullah and his supporters blame most of their persistent troubles on the deposed Shah -and on his friends abroad. Says Iranian Expert James Bill of the University of Texas: "If there is any issue Khomeini's government has seized upon, it is the Shah, whom they consider to be murderous. When the U.S. let him in, even for humanitarian reasons, it was almost predictable that there would be a tremendous reaction in Iran." In Bill's view, many Iranians still fear that the Shah might be attempting a comeback, with covert U.S. assistance. "To us that seems ridiculous, says Bill, "but we are dealing with Iranians and their perceptions of reality." Indeed the question of the Shah's admission to the U.S. is a contentious issue among Americans as well as Iranians; some argue that he should have been wel-

The Patient on Floor 17

How sick is the Shah? Ever since the deposed monarch suddenly arrived in the U.S. on Oct. 22 and was whisked to a Manhattan hospital, questions have been raised as to whether the trip was really necessary. Last week doubts erupted into a debate that occupied the attention of the physicians inside New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center as well as student picketers on the street outside. The Teh-

ran government and anti-Shah activists in the U.S. charged that the Shah had used his illness as a political ploy to seek permanent sanctuary here. In the hospital, some staffers suggested sotto voce that the Shah's physicians were exaggerating his ailments: a gall bladder obstruction and histiocytic lymphoma, a cancer of the lymphatic system for which the Shah has been under treatment for the past six years. Said one doubtful doctor: "I think that the prognosis

may be overly pessimistic The Shah's doctors include such experts as Physician in Chief Hibbard Williams. Parasitologist Benjamin Kean, who visited the ailing monarch in Mexico, and Cancer The Shah in Mexico last summer Therapist Morton Coleman. They concede

that if they have erred, it is on the side of conservatism. Robert Armao, an adviser to the Shah, has acknowledged that the ex-monarch's spleen, which originally was said to be suddenly enlarged, had been in that condition for years. But the Shah's aides insist that the lymphoma is spreading, and so do his doctors. After studying a lymph node removed shortly after his arrival at the hospital, they announced that the cancer centered in the Shah's neck had grown. They recommended that the monarch, who has not sufficiently recovered from the removal of his gall bladder to undergo chemotherapy, begin a four-week course of X-ray treatments. With this and other therapy, the Shah's prospects are encouraging; unless they are killed by the chemotherapy, which involves doses of potentially toxic drugs, many lymphoma victims survive up to ten years after diagnosis. Without the therapy, the Shah's prospects are poor; untreated, cancers like his can kill their victims in 18 months

Does this mean that the Shah must remain in the U.S. for treatment? The question is political, not medical. Though doctors say that they would prefer to treat the Shah in New

York City, they acknowledge that he could be treated just as well in Mexico, or in France by the physicians who have cared for him in the past

The Shah, 60, has been recuperating from surgery by watching old movies on television and receiving such visitors as former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Singer Frank Sinatra and Tricia Nixon Cox. He declines to talk to the press, but his aides last week said that he was willing to leave the U.S. if his departure would help free the

Tehran embassy hostages Privately, some hospital officers concede that they would be relieved by the Shah's departure. Housed in a \$900-a-day suite on the 17th floor of the hospital's Baker Pavilion

and protected by one-way glass doors and his own armed guards, the Shah is secure. But hospital personnel will be uneasy as long as he stays. TIME has learned that last week a white-robed black man who claimed to be a Muslim slipped into the medical center's library and threatened three doctors with a samurai sword before he was disarmed by police. Outside the medical center, the crowd of demonstrators has become smaller and quieter since the seizure of the embassy; but the protesters-carrying signs calling for the Shah's



death-are still there

TIME, NOVEMBER 19, 1979

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Nation

comed from the beginning as a fallen ally, others that as a disgraced tyrant he had no place in this country

With so many lives in danger, an obvious first step was to adopt a policy of that he would not meet with them. The White House told them to remain in Istanbul until the situation became clearer

Then came a surprising development an apparent offer by the P.L.O, to try to negotiate for the hostages lives. P.L.O en the consequence of the hostages lives. P.L.O intelligible and the properties of the properties of the consequence of the

Pakistan, for help. Fresh offers of assistance poured in. The Shah passed the word that he was willing to leave the U.S.. leading Egyptian President Anwar Sadat -who had denounced the seizure of the hostages as "a disgrace to Islam"-to offer to send his private jet to fly the ailing monarch to Cairo. Retired Heavyweight Champion Muhammad Ali announced he would be willing to exchange himself for the prisoners. Said Ali: "I'm a Muslim. and I am known and loved in Iran." Intrigued, State Department officials suggested that Ali try out his offer on the Iranian embassy in Washington. Pope John Paul II dispatched a personal envoy, Pro-Nuncio Annibale Bugnini, to Qum to meet with Khomeini, but the Avatullah said he could do nothing unless the U.S. extradited the Shah

Uncertainty and lack of knowledge contributed to the tension. Carter met with relatives of the hostages, tried to reasure them and discussed some of the problems the U.S. was facing. As Scoop Jackson described the dilemma: "Who do you talk to? Who do you deal with? It's a situation of great instability? You don't know what's going to happen from one moment to the seat." One happen from one of the Pentagon's war gameirs: "It's a classic case of gaming versus an trational opponent. As the irrationality approaches 100%, you are highly to game nears zero."

till, by week's end the Administration was feeling a bit more hopeful about the situation. Having avoided any sort of response that might have worked to the disadvantage of the hostages, the U.S. was increasingly counting on growing pressure from the international community and from Iran's own middle class to exert some influence on the religious leaders and the students. One goal of the American diplomatic strategy was to isolate Iran and make it appear as an irrational outlaw in world opinion. Iranian diplomats privately expressed their sense of embarrassment about the embassy seizure to their Arab colleagues, who in turn passed the message on to Washington. But the big question remained: would such pressures have any real impact on the enigmatic Khomeini-the only man who can order the students to release the hostages?

The state of fluture relations on 11 he speed and 12 he dependent of the speed and 12 he dependent of the speed and manuate in which the hostages are released and 12 he degree to which Washington can convince the volatile Iranians that it is not befriending the Shah and has no wish to restore him to power. If all goes well, relations could resume after a cooling-off period of a few months. However the embassy affair ends, it is a sharp reminder of the degree to which the traditional rules of international control to the speed of the



Carter conferring with Vance (left) and Brzezinski as the crisis mounted

"You don't know what's going to happen from one moment to the next.

coolness and flexibility. Toward that end, the White House asked both Congressmen and presidential hopefuls to refrain from inflaming the situation. For the most part the candidates agreed. Early in the week, Republicans Ronald Reagan and John Connally criticized the Administration's handling of the affair, only to draw a rebuke from a third G.O.P. contender, Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee, After a briefing session for congressional leaders at the White House, Democratic Senator Scoop Jackson of Washington declared: "Restraint is the order of the day. Teddy Kennedy was one who broke ranks; he criticized the Administration for not having a contingency plan to protect Americans at the embassy

fer Bazargan's government fell, the Administration's next step was to select Clark and Miller to fly to Tehran and negotiate with the Ayatullah Clark had been an early U.S. supporter of Khomeini and had visited him last January in France. Miller was a former Foreign Service officer in Iran who ward the Shah. The two men had already left for Iran who men had already the state of the Shah. The two men had already the state of the Shah.

knowledges Israel's right to exist. From the Administration's viewpoint, however, the safety of the hostages was more important than giving the P.L.O. a chance to gain a bit of image-building publicity. If Arafia's emisseries were successful, the Palestinians could boast that they had turned the other cheek by helping Israel's protector and ally; if they failed, the world would at least give them credit for trying. As one Israeli diplomat bitterly served. "It was no-loses itstudies."

The mission did not go well. Fearful of jeopardizing the P.L.O.'s close ties with Khomeini. Sayel announced that he would not be a mediator after all. because the "situation is only related to the revolution in Iran." Some P.L.O. leaders implied that. in the end. Araffa himself might be willing to go to Tehran to try his luck with the stubborn Iranians.

Late in the week, Carter postponed a scheduled trip to Canada because he wanted to stay in close touch with his foreign policy advisers. He called for the meeting of the U.N. Security Council, at which members adopted a resolution expressing concern over the detention of the American diplomats, and he asked several of Iran's Muslim neighbors, including

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1980 EPA fuel economy estimates

| Model | Est. mpg: | Est. range: |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| 240 D (Man) | 28 | 481.6 mi. |
| 240 D (Auto) | 26 | 447.2 mi. |
| 300 D | 28 | 485.3 mi. |
| 300 CD | 23 | 485.3 mi. |
| 300 TD | 23 | 425.5 mi. |
| 300 SD | 24 | 520.8 mi. |

Compare this to other cars. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, weather conditions and trip length. California estimates vary.

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On rain-slicked highways, on rutted back roads, in mountain bends—that dry list comes vividly alive. Economy needn't mean a drab driving life; first and foremost, a Mercedes-Benz Diesel is a driver's car.

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"We're Going to **Kick Your Butts"**

Waving American flags and carry-ing an outsize picture of John Wayne, 1,500 angry Texans marched on the Iranian consulate in Houston. In Beverly Hills, police arrested 136 anti-Shah Iranian demonstrators who were attacked by a mob shouting, "Deport! Deport! Deport!" In Springfield, Mass., 30 Iranian students demanding the Shah's extradition were pelted with rocks, bottles and eggs. At the University of Minnesota, students hurled snowballs at protesting members of a Muslim student association. A few blocks from the White House, 900 Iranian demonstrators traded taunts, and even a few punches, with jeering bystanders chanting, "A thousand for one!" in an ominous reference to the Snowballed Muslim students in Minnesota 60 or so American hostages in Iran.

Similar outbursts took place across the nation last week, as angry Americans focused their rage on the nearest available symbol of the Khomeini regime: some 40,000 often militant Iranian students attending U.S. colleges and universities. Many Americans suddenly decided that these students were no longer welcome. New York Congressman Leo Zeferetti called for the immediate deportation of the Irani who had dangled a 140-ft. banner from the Statue of Liberty demanding. THE SHAH MUST BE TRIED AND PUN-ISHED. After wrapping up his report last Thursday night, Cleveland Sportscaster Gibb Shanley set fire to a small Iranian flag. "I know it's not sports," he explained to his television audience, "but it is an Iranian flag. Anybody from Iran in this country who does not like it here should leave." Station WEWS-TV received 600 calls about Shanley's symbolic gesture, only 15 of them unfavorable. At the University of Texas at Austin, a student knocked over the table where several Iranians were seated. Shouted another Texas student at an Iranian schoolmate: "If you hate this country

so much, if it's a filthy stinking cesspool, why don't you go back where you came from? If you try to push the American people around, we're going to kick your butts.'

The majority of Iranian students were, and are, bitter opponents of the Shah. But some have grown accustomed to life in the U.S., and many have no wish to return to the uncertain prospects of Khomeini's Iran. Temporarily, at least, the U.S. has become an uncomfortable haven for the students. "People are worried one Iranian at Columbia. To avoid the ire of Americans, many Iranian students have adopted a low profile, saving little or nothing about recent events in Tehran. "Iranians usually don't take things passively, said Marilyn Thompson, director of foreign students at Central Y.M.C.A. Community College in Chicago. "But right now most of An American vs. Iranian brawl in Beverly Hills



them feel that they better cool it or they will be sent home. The students who will talk are di-

vided. One faction, though adamantly opposed to the Shah, is equally dismayed about the course of Khomeini's revolution. Said Djabbari, 22, one of the 900 Iranians at the University of Southern California, explained this: "We wanted a democracy, not a theocracy. I think the seizure is extremely irresponsible and in defiance of all international laws. I don't understand why such a student action can be endorsed by the legitimate government of any nation." Others staunchly defend the embassy seizure. Said an accounting major at Chicago's Roosevelt University: "Americans don't know how we suffered under the Shah. All of us have had a father, a brother, a mother killed. I don't know why the U.S. doesn't learn from history."

Some students seem to be looking for trouble-and finding it. In the Beverly Hills incident, the Iranians defiantly carried out a protest march, even though the police had received 25

threats from residents to shoot the protesters as soon as they crossed the city line. On the University of Southern Illinois campus in Carbondale, 1,000 students surrounded a small group of Iranians and virtually held them captive until police moved in. But the patience of some police is wearing thin. Assigned to guard a group of Iranian demonstrators outside the hospital where the Shah is staying, a New York City cop muttered, "Just let one of those bastards open his goddam mouth."

espite the clamor, there is little chance that Iranian stu-Despite the change, and dents as a group will be forced to leave the U.S. Though it is currently in the process of deporting 4,300 Iranian nationals on grounds that they have broken immigration rules, the Carter Administration has ruled out mass "summary" expulsion of the students. Such a purge would violate U.S. immigration laws, which say that deportations must be han-

MARK dled on a case-by-case basis, subject to review by the courts. But last week, in a general tightening, the President ordered the Justice Department to deport any Iranian students who were not complying with the terms of their entry visas, and this week the Immigration Service will ask all Iranian students in the U.S. to report their present location and status. One important complicating factor is that the government reportedly has little if any reliable information on the present whereabouts of an estimated 250,000 Iranians who entered the U.S. as students and simply stayed on. Although they are illegal aliens, it is unlikely that courts would permit many of them to be expelled. One reason: thousands came to the U.S. at the Shah's expense. If they were repatriated to their homeland, they would face certain punishment, and possibly death.



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Loser Kucinich congratulating new Mayor Volnovich on election night in Cleveland

Strong Currents of Change

New blocs gain power in Houston, Miami, San Francisco

Crime, poverty, racial tension. The symptoms are so depressingly similar from one urban center to another that they are often lumped together in one catchall phrase: "the problem of the cities." Politically, however, the cities make up a complex and ever shifting mosaic, as local elections across the nation demonstrated last week. In general, the cities' voters remained loyal to incumbents, and still more so to the Democratic Party. But there were strong crosscurrents of change in some big cities. Most notable: the sudden rise to prominence of new voting blocs in Houston, Miami and San Francisco, and the equally sudden demise of the tough-guy mayoral style in Cleveland. Philadelphia and Minneapolis

Perhaps the most drastically changed city government is the one in Houston. Under prodding from the U.S. Department of Justice, which has been hearing loud complaints about discrimination from the oil capital's black and Hispanic minorities. Houston shifted from a Council of eight of the council of the co

Blacks thereby increased their representation from one to three, and State Representative Ben Reyes became Houston's first Mexican-American councilman In addition, three women stand a chance of winning runoff elections for council posts, though no woman has ever sat on that city's council before Incumbent Democratic

Incumbent Democratic
Mayor Jim McConn, a successful builder, is expected
Boston's four th-termer White

to win the runoff, but the new council willchange the basic style of Houston's purcernant. It will almost certainly debate municipal issues publicly, rather than holding all discussions behind closed doors, as the old council did. It will be leas attentive to downtown business interests, may be less anxious to answer with the subtraban areas until services in the center city improve, and will surely of more solicitous of poor areas. Yone Erment McGowen, a black maintain viscolino. "People in offlice haven't heard from this sixe of foom, but they will."

Miami became the only major maininal U.S. city to be governed primarily by Hispanics. Puerto Rican-born Mayor Maurice Ferre won a fourth term, and Hispanics were assured of three posts on the five-member city commission. They continued the commission post will pit two Cubanborn candidates against each other. Indeed, twelve of the 16 candidates for top city offices were of Latin background.

The Hispanics hastened to assure their neighbors that the outcome meant. in Ferre's words, "no Latin

ukeover." Armando Latana, who campaigned successfully for election to the city commission with Spanish-language posters urging PROTECT OLD GWM. none-theless proclaimed that the commission must offer a piece of the action to every-body." Still, the election testified to the growing strength of "title Havana; Cuban exiles Hispanics make up 55% of Miamis?

population and only 31% of the registered voters, but they trooped to the polls in impressive numbers Miami's non-Hispanics, like most other Americans, did not.

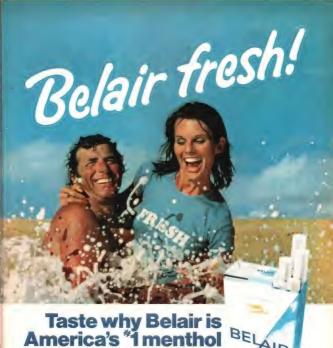
San Francisco's assertive homosexual population unexpectedly won the balance of political power in that city. Mayor Dianne Feinstein had expected to win a majority, but she polled only 42%. That forced her into a Dec. 11 runoff, which she might lose to Runner-Up Quentin Kopp. a conservative member of the board of supervisors. One reason Feinstein failed to win was the success of minor candidates: Punk-Rock Singer Jello Biafra astonished even himself by taking 3% of the vote. More significant, David Scott, an openly homosexual real estate agent who called Feinstein and Kopp "Tweedledum and Tweedledee," won 10%. How his followers vote will be decisive in the runoff, and both candidates will be courting them in the next few weeks. They must do so while also appealing to an apparent conservative mood among other voters. San Franciscans defeated proposals to install strict rent controls, disband the city's vice squad and raise business taxes.

In Cleveland and Philadelphia, a kind of politics of civility triumphed; both cities elected men who presented themselves



Philadelphia's William Green and daughter

as healers to succeed loudly abrasive mayors Cleveland's self-styled populist, Dennis Kucinich, elected in 1977 at the age of 31, wom nationwide notoricy for his about's hig corporations and banks—and seen more for the fact that Cleveland last year became the first major U.S. city since the 1936s to default on debt repayments. Cold-shouldered by the Cleveland Dencratic organization and simcorcratic cognization and simcorcratic cognization and simcorter of the customer of the Cleveland's blacks: he persuaded Heavy-



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weight Champion Larry Holmes and former Mayor Carl Stokes to endorse him on TV. The strategy did not work: Kucinich lost to Republican George Voinovich. Ohio's Lieutenant Governor, who played down his party affiliation and promised "a new spirit of cooperation among businessmen, labor, and civic and neighborhood groups. Voinovich carried ten of Cleveland's 13 black wards as well as most of the city's white districts. Said he: "Populism doesn't mean anything if you can't deliver services to the people. They can't eat populism, they can't put it over their roofs

And Philadelphia bade farewell to Frank Rizzo, the outspoken ex-cop who once appealed to Philadelphians to "vote Rizzo failed last year to persuade voters to amend the city charter so that he could win a third term, and he stayed grumpily aloof from the election, pronouncing a pox on all his would-be successors. Said he: "Between the three of them, if you scrambled their brains, you

wouldn't get a half-wit.

The easy winner was William Green. one of the city's Congressmen for seven terms. Green's father ran the Democratic machine for years in a metropolis where registered Democrats now outnumber Republicans almost 4 to 1. Ted Kennedy campaigned for him, and Green spent five times as much money as his two opponents put together.

In Minneapolis too the hard-nosed cop image seemed to lose its appeal. It was personified in that city by Charles Stenvig, a policeman who won three twoyear terms as mayor, the most recent in 1975. He tried for a fourth last week, distributing one pamphlet in which he was pictured wrapped in the American flag. He was trounced, 2 to 1, by Donald Fraser, a liberal Democrat who represented a Minneapolis district in Congress for 16 years. Fraser urged depoliticizing the police department and ostentatiously discouraged campaign contributions from individual police officers.

n other cities it was politics as usual. In-cumbent Democratic mayors won reelection easily in Gary, Ind., and Salt Lake City, incumbent Republicans in Columbus and Indianapolis. In Boston. Kevin White cruised to an unprecedented fourth consecutive four-year term as mayor, winning both black Roxbury and white South Boston, whose residents often throw angry epithets-and sometimes more harmful things than that-at each other. In most cases, voters seemed less enthusiastic for the existing order than wearily convinced that a change of command at city hall would not make much difference. But as the results in Houston, Miami, San Francisco, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Minneapolis demonstrated. no one can take the city voter for granted: the bloc appeals and political styles that swept to triumph in the last election may guarantee defeat in the next.



ernor-elect John Brown with Wife Phyllis George (left) and Running Mate Martha Collins

"Let's See Some Teeth"

The Democrats keep control of two statehouses

ensing possible upsets in two tradi-Stionally Democratic states, the G.O.P. threw money and manpower into the Kentucky and Mississippi gubernatorial elections last week. To no avail. John Y. Brown Jr. won in Kentucky and William Winter in Mississippi; each pulled about 60% of the vote. The Republicans, however, scored a net gain of 28 seats in state legislatures across the nation.

In his first bid for elective office. Brown, 45, breached Kentucky custom by hugging and kissing his wife, the irrepressible Phyllis George, 30, in public at every opportunity. She was Miss America in 1971 and went on to become a TV celebrity. In the campaign, she put her media training to expert use to help her husband. When the cameras appeared at a gathering in Lexington, she instructed campaign workers: "Smile, people, Let's see some teeth. This is show biz.

A topnotch salesman who bought Colonel Sanders' Kentucky Fried Chicken business for \$2 million and in a stockswap deal sold it for \$21 million. Brown did not do as well in selling himself. He ducked the usual political chores like shaking hands at county courthouses and fish fries. "We have a computer that tells me which hands to shake." he explained. Instead he relied on television, volunteers and a massive telephone bank.

By contrast. Republican Candidate

Louie Nunn shook hands all around the state. Nevertheless, he was unable to win forgiveness for an action he had taken when he served as Governor from 1967 to 1971 -raising the sales tax from 3e on the



even carpeting the state with new roads or running a competent, scandal-free administration could placate those voters who still called the tax "Nunn's nickel.

Lagging 30 points behind Brown in the polls. Nunn attacked Brown's expensive ways (Brown had outspent Nunn \$2.8 million to \$1.2 million as of Oct. 21). Speaking of a small eastern Kentucky town, Nunn scoffed: "I know where Johnson's Fork is. My opponent probably thinks it's something you eat caviar with. When John and Phyllis were photographed at a Manhattan discothèque. Nunn's supporters distributed copies of Penthouse magazine showing bare-breasted women dancing at the same nightspot.

Mississippi had a somewhat more decorous race. William Winter, 56, lean and bespectacled, lost two previous gubernatorial races to more colorful and conservative candidates. This time, Winter stressed his experience as a former state legislator, state treasurer, state tax collector and Lieutenant Governor. Since Winter has contributed articles on Mississippi history to academic journals, his intellectual side was balanced with a TV commercial showing him firing a pistol on a state highway-patrol range.

His Republican opponent, Gil Carmichael, a wealthy automobile dealer, won 39% of the vote when he ran against former Senator James Eastland in 1972. In this election. Carmichael emphasized his experience as a businessman, and in a state where President Carter is not very popular. Carmichael described Winter as a "national Democrat. II Carter supporter. even a Kennedy man." Cutting coattails fast. Winter responded that Carter and Carmichael were both good examples of why businessmen should not be elected to office. Carmichael had earlier predicted the outcome: "If you've got two nice guys in the same race in Mississippi, the nice Democrat will win every time

Nation

Kennedy Makes It Official

And so does Jerry Brown as the attacks on Carter widen

A last, the challenge was formally issaued. In Boston's historic Faneuil
Hall, where Samuel Adams once
preached revolt against the ruling British. Ted Kennedy last week finally proclaimed his insurgency. It was, inevitably,
a family affair. When Rose Kennedy arrived to watch the third of her sons' camputings begin, she received a thunderous
vortion from some 400 relatives and
of Ted's two murdered brothers. Jacqueline Onassis and Ethel Kennedy.

In announcing, Kennedy made a firm but quiet plea for leadership in a frus-

my husband." Ted led the applause for il his wife, and behind them their twelveyear-old son Patrick brushed tears from his eyes.

Kennedy promptly took off on a three-day campaign bilts of seven cities, extending from Manchester. N.H., to Charleston, S.C. He drew large crowds, including the same kind of squeaters, jumpers and touchers who used to flock to Jack. But tragedy has tempered his apatiogather, he is planning to concentrate on smaller, more secure sessions, where he can discuss issues at greater length. At-

Joan Kennedy speaking on podium in Boston's Fancuil Hail; Husband Ted applauding A campaign with squealers, jumpers and touchers, but also a damaging TV interview.

trated, confused and divided nation: "Before the list election, we were told that Americans were honest, loving, good, decent and compassionate. Now the people are blamed for every national ill and scolded as greedy, wasteful and mired in malaise. Which is if? Did we change so much in these three years? Or is it because our present leadership does not understand that we are willing, even unxderstand that we are willing, even unworld that we can be also also the soluonly thing that paralyzes us today is the myth that we cannot move."

When the speech was over, a reporter quickly probed one of Kennedy's vulnerabilities. To scattered boos from the crowd, he asked whether Kennedy's separated wife Joan would participate in his campaign. Smiling broadly. Kennedy turned to Joan, who appeared nervous and replied in a quavering voice. "The answer is that I look forward to campaigning for tending, the first of these at the Copernicus Senior Citizens Center in Chicago. Kennedy gave a speech touting his national health care programs. Silvester Bonnis. 72. a retired factory worker, came up to the podium with his cane to say that if he ever had to go to the hospital. "It would take all that I have saved." Sening his point made so poignantly. Ted urged. "Pour it on, Silvester."

Kennedy was accompanied by some notable Democratic officendolers. Maine Governor Joseph Brennan. New Hamp-barker Senator foliah Durkin. Massellut He and the biggest catch of all. Chicago May-banded pressure to endorse the President. By the control of the control of the present of the control of the present of the control of the contro

charged. "I do not want to support a candidate because of blackmail and intimidation." Asked if she would meet Carter when he goes to Chicago for a fund raiser next month. the mayor snapped, "If I'm in town."

Kennedy's buoyant campaign opening helped to dim some of the bad memories of his performance on a CBS-TV interview with Roger Mudd the previous weekend. Halting and rambling, Kennedy ineffectually parried questions about Chappaquiddick. When asked how he would offer leadership, he sounded as if he were not sure-an ominous sign. Kennedy claimed, not very persuasively, that he had been "sandbagged" by the CBS show. When Mudd had requested to film him at Cape Cod. Mass., he apparently did not expect to be asked probing questions about his personal life and philosophy. Later he was able to joke about the mishap. When a reporter asked a convoluted question. Kennedy interrupted, "It sounds like me talking to Roger Mudd." But. in fact, compared with his often glib brothers. Kennedy proved to be just as inarticulate on the stump.

In contrast to Kennedy, California's Jerry Brown reinforced his image as a political loner when he announced for the nation's highest office at the National Press Club in Washington. The bachelor Governor was surrounded not by adoring family or worshipful politicos but just a sprinkling of young aides and volunteers. Brown told the largely youthful audience. "I see the problem not so much as the deficiency of one personality but rather the collective failure to grasp the new age into which we are entering My principles are simple: protect the earth, serve the people and explore the universe." He described his own long-anticipated candidacy as an "insurgent movement within the Democratic Party to challenge the dying myths that par-

alyze our nation."

Brown spelled out his differences with Carter and Kennedy, He flatly opposed nuclear power and an increase in defense spending. He favored a constitutional amendment to balance the budget and a revival of the now stalled space programs, space itself and bring with us-other nations so that at last we begin to sense our unity of the spirit in this small speek of

universal time."

To date. Brown has been able to raise only \$400,000 scarcely enough to wage a successful primary battle. But, Brown protests. "I can tell you that I will be in as long as it makes sense. If I have to hitchhie, if I have to take buse." The there. "Quoting from such dissimilar sources as Jan Wars and Robert Prost, inscribing Latin phrases for autograph hunters. except the protest of the protest pr



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Nation

"Thank God Almighty ... "

Carter puts a pro in charge

said one Carter intimate. "I have no alternative." said the President. And so, almost inevitably, Robert S. Strauss last week gave up his frustrating assignment as Special Ambassador to the Middle East and took up an equally complicated job that he will like much better: running Carter's re-election campaign. Sighed a Democratic National Committee staffer "Thank God Almighty, Strauss at last."

Carter first discussed the campaign chairmanship with Strauss earlier this year, but the garrulous Texan hankered after a more statesmanlike job. He won the Middle East assignment last April, but when he discovered that his down-home diplomatic style did not produce quick results, he grew restless. Spurred on by White House Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan and Confidant Charles Kirbo, Carter again asked Strauss to take charge of his re-election effort. This time the former Democratic Party chairman agreed. but demanded the freedom to run the campaign as he saw fit. Carter's reply, says Strauss, was "to sign over a power of attorney. He told me to go into business and just get him re-elected

Strauss, 61, becomes the third proprietor of that trouble-ridden business in less than a year: Evan Dobelle, 34, former U.S. Chief of Protocol, headed the re-election committee for six months after it was formed last March, then was judged too lightweight; Tim Kraft, 38, Carter's assistant for political affairs, took over in September, then was judged too abrasive. Both will remain with the committee, Dobelle as a fund raiser and Kraft as director of field operations.

t the grubby Carter headquarters on At the grubby Carter meady inherits a campaign seriously short of cash: almost all of the \$2 million raised so far has been spent. Indeed the committee has been in some danger of missing its next payroll. Strauss named Lee Kling, 40, a veteran Democratic operator, as campaign treasurer, and together the two hope to raise \$3 million by the end of the year.

Strauss's strategy for the moment is to avoid arm twisting and simply to cajole waverers into delaying any endorsements for now. He is convinced that time will eventually level Ted Kennedy, Says he: "If Jimmy Carter has to run on his record. Kennedy has to run on his

Indeed, the whole prospect ahead is beginning to look more attractive to the White House than it has for several months. In contrast to recent opinion polls that have shown Carter trailing badly, the President trounced Kennedy, 71% to



Vance, newly named Ambassador Linowitz, Carter and Strauss at the White House

"He told me to go into business and just get him re-elected.

26%, in a straw poll conducted at Iowa's Jefferson-Jackson Dinner: though no convention delegates were at stake, the event demonstrated the Carter camp's ability to organize its supporters in what will soon be a pivotal state. The President also snapped up an offer from the Des Moines Register last week to debate with Kennedy in the Civic Arena on Jan. 7, two weeks before Iowa Democrats begin to choose their delegates. Though it is an unprecedented gamble for an incumbent President to debate a challenger for his own party's nomination. White House aides are convinced that the President's skill at fielding questions will outdo Kennedy's superior oratory. The President also displayed his new tone of aggressive confidence during a White House dinner, when he bluntly told his Cabinet officers that he expected all political appointees to campaign for him. Those who will not. Carter hinted, should resign

To replace Strauss in the stalled Middle East negotiations, Carter chose Sol M. Linowitz, 65, a Washington lawyer and former chairman of Xerox. Though Linowitz, like Strauss, has had little experience in the Arab world, his diplomatic credentials are impressive. He served as U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States from 1966 to 1969 and along with Ellsworth Bunker, negotiated the 1978 Panama Canal Treaty. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance first offered him a similar Middle East post in 1978, shortly before the Camp David summit, but Linowitz turned it down because he did not believe that a special envoy could break the impasse that then existed between Egypt and Israel

He accepted the position this time because Carter emphatically told him that he was "the best man for the job." On reflection. Linowitz agreed that being Jewish was not really a problem: "As a Jew. I am still open-minded and able to deal fairly with all kinds of issues." Unlike Strauss, who insisted on reporting only to the President, Linowitz requested that he work through Cyrus Vance, an old friend. Linowitz also gets along well with National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who has lately been asserting himself forcefully in foreign policymaking. If he lacks the effervescence of Strauss, Linowitz is more the conciliator. That bodes well for his new mission

Soured SALT

Now begins the final fight

After four months of hearings, the Sen-ate Foreign Relations Committee approved the SALT II treaty last week by a 9-to-6 vote. But that was the only good news for the pact's supporters.

The bad news was that the split on the committee was actually 8 to 7. The ninevote formal majority included a waverer. Nebraska Democrat Edward Zorinsky, who voted for the treaty in committee as a courtesy to party leaders, but said he would oppose the pact in its present form on the Senate floor. Arizona's Barry Goldwater, who is not on the committee but is influential among Senate Republicans, also dealt the pact a heavy blow. He has decided to oppose the treaty because he doubts that the U.S. could adequately verify Soviet compliance with it.

Thus with floor debate unlikely to begin until after Thanksgiving, the outlook for the pact is more clouded than ever. Moreover, opponents are threatening a prolonged talkathon that could drag on into next year's presidential primary season. If so, demands would rise that a vote be put off until after the elections. Altogether, it was an unhappy week for SALT backers, who could echo King Pyrrhus: "Another such victory and I shall be -

Nation

The Klan Rides Again

Under a modern mask, oldtime racism and violence

he members are younger these days, usually in their 20s and early 30s. Many of them sport hippie-style hair, beards or drooping mustaches. Some of their leaders try to project an up-to-date image, sounding reasonable on TV talk shows and often wearing sober business suits. But at their rallies in the dark of night, today's self-styled knights of the Ku Klux Klan still wear white robes, burn crosses and spout the racist rhetoric of their grandfathers in the Klan's heyday of the 1920s, when klaverns across the country claimed millions

of members. The modern Klan is far smaller: no more than 10,000 members, according to estimates by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and other experts on the K.K.K. But after a decade of dormancy, the Klan in the past year has grown steadily more belligerent and violent. Two weeks ago. Klansmen and their sympathizers attacked an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, N.C., shooting to death four white men and a black woman, all of them members of the Communist Workers Party, formerly

So far this year, the Justice Department has recorded 44 Klan-related incidents, compared with eight in all of 1978. They included cross burnings, beatings and fire-bombings. A Klansman was convicted of whipping a white woman from Sylacauga. Ala., who he thought was dating a black man. In Birmingham, Klansmen were convicted of shoot-

known as the Workers Viewpoint

ing at the houses of two black civil

Organization.

rights leaders. At the same time, the Klan's membership is growing, up 25% in 18 months. Klan activities have been reported in 22 states, from Middletown, Ohio, to Castro Valley, Calif. as well as on the aircraft carrier A Klansman and his steed at a rally in Florida U.S.S. Independence and at the Fort Burnings, beatings and bombings in the South. Carson army base in Colorado. But four out of five Klansmen are in the old Confederate states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee and Texas. Most of the Klan members are bluecollar men with no more than three years of high school. About a third are women. usually the wives or girlfriends of male members. There are even a few Roman Catholic members, which is a sharp departure from the 1920s, when Klansmen hated Catholics almost as much as they did blacks and Jews.

According to Klan watchers, the growth in membership is mostly a reaction to busing for school desegregation and to affirmative action, which Klans-

men figure gives blacks an advantage over them in competing for jobs. David Chalmers, a historian at the University of Florida and author of Hooded Americanism, observes that most Klansmen have a resentful sense of being unfairly excluded from the middle class. Says he: "By joining the Klan and defending Americanism, they confer on themselves the status that society has denied them."

Today's K.K.K. units are also trying

to recruit children. In more than a dozen cities throughout the country, Klan sympathizers have distributed leaflets to high school students asking: "Are you 'fed up to here' with black, chicano and [Orientall criminals who break into lockers and steal your clothes and wallets?" The solution, according to the leaflet, is to join the Klan Youth Corps. At a K.K.K. summer camp in Jefferson County, Ala., robed counselors teach girls and boys ages ten to 18 the fundamentals of race supremacy and how to use guns. Near Decatur, Ala., a group of children, all outfitted in Klan T shirts, burned an old school bus last summer to protest school desegrega-

tion while several hundred adults cheered. Although all Klansmen subscribe in the same racist beliefs, they are fractured among at least a dozen factions. The oldest and largest is the 3,500-member United Klans of America, led by Robert Shelton, 50, a former tire salesman from Tuscaloosa. Ala. But his group has been waning in influence in the past few years. The South's most visible klavern now is the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which has about 2,500 guntoting, violence-talking members. Their imperial wizard is Bill Wilkinson, 36, a former electrical contractor from Denham Springs, La., who travels from city to city in a private plane, recruiting mem-

bers and staging demonstrations. Complains Wilkinson: "The Government is giving all the gravy to Negroes and other minorities who have not earned it." But blacks are not the only targets. Says he: "This is not just a racist, nigger-hating organization. We're more complex than that." Indeed, Wilkinson's Invisible Empire also hates Indochinese refugees, In-

dians and Hispanics.

The slickest faction is the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which is headed by David Duke of Metairie. La. His 2,000 followers have tried to make racism more respectable by publicly condemning violence and recruiting a variety of middle-class professionals. Duke, 29, a smooth-talking graduate of Louisiana State University, ran for the Louisiana state senate, coming in second in a four-man race last week. Next year he plans to enter a dozen presidential primaries with the aim of electing some delegates to the Democratic National Convention, where they will propose that K.K. K. stands on issues be included in the party platform. Says Duke: "White people today are facing more massive racial discriminations than the blacks ever faced. We are the only group standing up for whites in this country.

Law enforcement officials and civil rights leaders are increasingly alarmed about the Klan, but they do not know what to do about it Because of new federal restrictions de-

signed to protect civil rights, the FBI no longer keeps as close watch on Klan activities as it once did. Says an I BI official: "We now cannot infiltrate them just because they are standing on a street corner and shouting, no matter how violent or antisocial their rhetoric." Other observers are persuaded that Klan strength will decline only when the people who are now attracted to it get a bigger share of the South's economic boom. Until then, says Mary Joyce Carlson, a civil rights lawyer in Atlanta whose car was once shot at by Klansmen, "any group with simple, ready-made answers will have some support."

Dating at West Point

Punishment: vile abuse

"West Point offers an example to the rest of the country. We're teaching young men how to work with young women as equals, and with women as their superiors and subordinates."

-Lieut. General Andrew Goodpaster

With less than complete success, however, as General Goodpaster learned to his chagrin just two weeks after making that statement. The silverhaired, 35-year veteran of the Army, who came out of retirement in 1977 to become West Point's highly regarded superintendent a year after the cheating scandal that resulted in the expulsion of 152 cadets. was summoned to Washington last week for a grilling by Army brass about a second scandal. This one involved an incident in which a squeamish woman cadet was forced by male classmates to bite off the head of a live chicken as punishment for too conspicuously dating a male cadet, who in turn was subjected to verbal abuse by his fellow students. One of them remarked loudly: "If I had a woman leader in combat and she proved incompetent. I'd shoot her in the back.

The harassment, which took place at a training camp last summer, came to light in a report to Goodpaster after a twomonth investigation by the Academy's inspector general. He found that in another case, a cadet was forced by male classmates to strip; then he was tied up and his genitals were sprayed with shaving cream. Some hazers dressed up in mock Ku Klux Klan robes and hoods fashioned out of bed sheets. Academy authorities denied that the cadets were being racist, and in fact at least one black cadet donned a K.K.K. costume. Said Goodpaster: "These aren't bad cadets, but they got carried away."

But while hazing is an ancient West Point tradition," the problem of fitting women into the corps of cadets is new. If was one of the most important tasks that faced Goodpaster when he became superintendent. A year earlier, the Academy had admitted its first female cadets (now 334, out of a total corps of (4,338).

One immediate problem was how to regulate dating. West Point decided to permit it, but only under Victorian restrictions. The Academy problates "PD.A.a" ing hands or kissing. One exception is firmal dances, where the women change from their uniforms into regulation floorneaging sowns, and some discreet touching good on Despite the best efforts of the problem of the problem.

*Douglas MacArthur told a congressional investigating committee in 1901 that while being hazed as a cadet at West Point. he was forced to do deepknee bends over broken glass until he fainted.



"If I had an incompetent woman leader in combat, I'd shoot her in the back."

searcher Barbara Dolan, who has been interviewing cadest at West Point, reports that about half of the 62 women who expect to graduate next May plan to marry male graduates of the Academy, even about whether they will be sent to the same duty stations or to ones on opposite oides of the globe. Still, women in general have had a hard time in adjusting to West 1976. 57 have foropped out.

The clash between military regulations and human nature has produced ineviable problems. In the proper-class male was suspended for two years and the case the the caset honor committee on charges of telling a female cade that he would like to know her better, then denying to his company executive officer that he had made the statement, which he wrongly thought violated a regulation against "fraternizing" with a plebe. His denial of the incident broke the honor code. If he the incident broke the honor code. If he



Im Henderson and Debbie Widick
"A few of the guys are jealous."

decides to return to West Point, some cadets say that he will be "silenced," meaning that classmates will not speak to him.

That kind of incident points to a mapor headache that Goodpaster has been unable to solve: male cadets enforce an informal dating code even stricter than the formal dating code even stricter than the mere presence of women is an offense against the military's macho spirit; in addition, some cadets seem to be frustrated at not being able to get dates of their own at not being able to get dates of their own at the control of the control of the control dating fellow. Cadet Debto on seedingly dating fellow. Cadet Debto on seeding the few of the guysar jealous."

Male students are quick to troop past the open door of a woman's room when a man is visiting (West Point policy requires an open door on such occasions). Says Cadet Denise Dawson, in her fourth year at the Point: "As soon as a guy is in the room it's like a little alarm sounds, and everybody has to walk past the door."

In a similar spirit, male cadets have formulated an unwritten rule prohibiting serious dating by cadets in the same basic unit, the company, which numbers about 100. The cadets are taught that each company is supposed to function as a whole, just as it would under combat conditions. This was the rule that was violated by the female cadet who was forced to bite off a chicken's head. She and her boyfriend, the son and daughter of military officers, had dated as plebes, and when they wound up by chance in the same company at summer camp, they began going off alone as often as possible. Because of the severe harassment from other cadets, both resigned from the corps at the end of the summer camp and are now enrolled at a private college; the young man, however, is still determined on an Army career. There the matter rested, until the inspector general began his investigation, prompted by a complaint from the male cadet.

Goodpaster is determined to end any remaining prejudice against women. Says he: "Revised attitudes have to come. Anyone who won't accept women at West Point shouldn't be here."

Nation

Nuclear Freeze

Longer ban on new plants

Since the accident at Three Mile Island in March, there has been a temporary ban on new nuclear plants in the U.S. Last week the Nuclear Regulatory Commission announced that the freeze will continue for at least six months and possibly for as long as two years.

During the moratorium, the NRC will cataloish more stringent safety regulations for the 72 nuclear plants that now generate 11.5% of the nation's electricity as well as for the 92 plants still under construction. The near recommendations of the presidential commission, which was headed by Dartmouth President John Kemeny. One was for suffer training of plant operators. The other was for emergency evacuation plants for polants.

The freeze will affect four plants that would have been ready for licensing next month: Seguoyah 1 reactor in Daity, Tenn.: Salem 2 in Lower Alloways Creek Township, N.J. North Anna 2 near Mineral. Va.; and Diablo Canyon 1 near San Luis Obispo, Callif If the licensing ban continues throughout 1980, at least seven more plants will be delayed.

In addition, NRC Chairman Joseph Hendrie told the House Subcommittee on Energy and Power that some existing nukes may be unable to meet the new safety rules and therefore may have to reduce their generating output. He also disclosed that the NRC is considering ordering a shutdown of some plants now operating in heavily populated areas. Said Hendrie: "In some of the older sites, the population density is such that evacuation might not be entirely successful in the worst kinds of accidents." He refused to specify which plants he had in mind, but two possibilities are the ones at Indian Point, 36 miles north of New York City, and Zion, Ill., 41 miles north of Chicago.

Industry spokesmen denounced the of the Atomic Industrial Forum: "The nation can ill afford an indefinite hold on nuclear licensing or one that is subject to politically inspired delays."

At week's end the NIC staff took another strong stand on safety by recommending that the commission fine the Consumers Power Co. of Jackson, Mich., \$450,000 for having left valves open in sereactor containment building from April 1978 until last September. If there months, radioactive materials could have been accident during those 18 months, radioactive materials could have been been supposed out of the building, inposed on a spewed out of the building, inposed on a form the series of the building the buil

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

"Frank, I Pity You," He Said

The urge that sends Ted Kennedy to challenge an incumbent President is as lold as the Republic. It has possessed dozens of men who saw clearly the "failures" of those in power and hold their own "different view" of leadership. But only once has an elected President been unsuccessful in bidding for renomination by his own party.

The fellow who was shabbily treated was Franklin Pierce. He provides a thin precedent; yet it is instructive. In most personal ways he was not at all like Carter. Back in 1852, when a messenger galloped up to the Pierce carriage to tell him that he had been nominated for President, his wife fainted from the horror of the thought. That is hardly Rosalynn's problem.

A large body of the Democrats who nominated Pierce in a steamy Baltimore convention didn't want him to be President any more than did Jane Appleton Pierce. It here days and 49 ballots, and they ended with a Northpleton Pierce II there is the proper of the property of the property of the rener who by some cluster logic found that the Constitution allowed Southern states to practice "involuntary servitude." Pierce's presidency went downhill states to practice.

President Franklin Pierce (1804-69)

There were bad omens early. Pierce spent only \$322 on his Inaugural ceremony, which his wife did not attend. They canceled the Inaugural Bail. It snowed. Pierce loved conviviality and booze. (No sign of Jimmy Carter so far.)

Pierce was neither strong nor vigrous, but he decided to sound that way for the sake of his image. He sent a warship to Nicaragia when a U.S. citizen was assaulted, then was shocked when the ship's crantal newed a when the ship's crantal newed a formation of the ship of the ship to Cuba next. Pierce inspired the offthe of the ship of the ship of the if Spain refused to sell the island, the U.S. would be justified in wersting it from Spain "if" we possess the power." Spain refused to sell, and theree was

left with only words. He did nothing. In the riptides generated by slav-

mushy middle ground. He sat there while Kansas was torn apart in bloody raids. Pierce was judged almost irrelevant to his times, a national feeling that as a faint but disturbing echo in Jimmy Carter's first three years. Nathaniel Hawthorne unwittingly for maybe not) devastated his old friend in a letter. Frank I, Pily you. Hawthorne wrote, the worst thought one can have about

an active politician.

The Democrats meeting in Cincinnati in 1856 gave a polite bow to Pierce and put his name on the first ballot, but even then James Buchanan got more ovets. By the 17th ballot Frankfill Pierce had drifted into oblivion and the nomination went to Buchanan, a Pennsylvania bachelor who turned out to be not much of an improvement. But hed did start his presidency with a proper celebration, at which were consumed 400 gallons of cysters, 60 saddles of mutton. 125 tongues, a cake four feet high and 53,000 worth of wine.

The other for some denied economisation by their party in our 203 years were John William Fillmenre. Andrew Johnson and Chester Arthur, all exceeding the property by the death of a President, thus lacking the party loyalty that elected incumbents usually acquire. So if Kennedy does take the nomination away from Carter, it will be quite an extraordinary chapter in the thin annals of presidential denial.

The chance that Carter might be defeated after achieving nomination is statistically somewhat greater. Seven elected Presidents who sought a second term and were nominated by their party were then defeated at the polis, beginning with John Adams in 1800 and running through Herbert Hoover in 1932.

But then, if you look at it the other way. 16 incumbents have been renominated and marched on to ultimate victory, which in the murky and unreliable world of presidential precedents is always the most likely event.



The Beefeater' Hour: It usually comes When the sun retreats to the West

And the din goes still, and the wheels start to slow, And the day comes at last to rest.



The Beefeater Hour: It's more than a time.
It's an island in the day.

Where you leave the roar of the crowd behind And the clamor all ebbs away.



The Beefeater Hour: The world stops here.

For this is the time and the place.

To get off the world and just settle back,



The talk should be whimsy, and banter, and play.
This is no time to be sour.

And Serious Subjects are left behind When you come to the Beefeater Hour.

The gin, to be sure, must be Beefeater Gin: The clean, clear taste of renewal. The refreshing, restoring, resplendent glow Of the gin that they call The Jewel.

1

Will you have a Martini? Then pour it forth From a pitcher that's lightly glossed By chilling it cold till you hale it out

And it blooms with a silver frost.

COL

The vermouth (just a touch!). Then the ice cubes come With the rattle of frozen dice.

And now for the gin! Pour the Beefeater in! Watch it smoke as it meets the ice!

Or what about tonic? To make gin and tonic That nobody can surpass.

Begin with the ice cubes smartly stacked Like a Stonehenge cased in glass.

CIE

Then pour in the Beefeater! Crown Jewel of England! Gin from the start endowed

With clarity! Brilliance! A flawless gin! A masterful gin, and proud.



If you linger awhile with this singular gin From the precincts of London Tower— Well, nobody said that the Beefeater Hour

Well, nobody said that the Beefeater Hour Has to last only an hour.

BEEFEATER GIN. The Crown Jewel of England.

World

CAMBODIA

A "Devastating" Trip

At last, a genuine international refugee relief effort is under way

44 T's like nothing I've ever seen. It's overwhelming, emotionally overwhelming." So said Rosalynn Carter last week in Thailand, where she had gone to see for herself what she called "one of the great moral issues

of our time," the agony of the refugees spilling out of Cambodia and the other Indochinese countries. She plunged into

camps housing thousands of sick and dying people, cradled undernourished infants in her arms and tried to feed them, kneeled before rows of hunger-weakened human castoffs lying on the ground. Toward the end of her three-day tour. she conceded that the experience was "devastating." It was very difficult for her, she said, "as a wife, as a mother and as a human

The First Lady was acting as a stand-in for President Carter, who had considered making the journey himself. Though her trip was labeled an "informal fact-finding" mission, it took on some of the appearances of a state visit. She was greeted at Bangkok airport by Thailand's Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn. Premier Kriangsak Chomanan, and a slew of Cabinet ministers. Responding to a welcoming speech by the Premier, she said that Americans were "filled with alarm" over the thought "that the Cambodian people are facing extinction as a result of war and famine." The next day, at high tea with the royal family at their palace in northeastern Thailand, she handed Queen Sirikit a check for \$100,000 to help pay for medical supplies.

For all the red-carpet treatment, the President's wife spent the bulk of her visit touring a series of different kinds of refugees created by Indochina's overlapping, unend-

ing wars: Cambodians, Laotians and the primarily Vietnamese "boat people." Her first stop was Sakaew, a center housing Cambodians 40 miles from the border. Rosalynn spent two hours at the camp. where more than 35,000 refugees were packed in makeshift lean-tos made of cloth, woven fiber and plastic sheeting spread out over 33 acres of claylike soil. During a briefing in a tent, she was told that nearly 1,000 of the refugees were seriously ill and that upwards of 400 peo-

been opened just two weeks before Walking through the area, reported

TIME Correspondent Christopher Ogden. "Mrs. Carter stopped first in a patched blue-and-white plastic tent full of small children, who were lined up sitting on straw mats in three neat rows. They were naccompanied minors,' the official eu-

relief centers devoted to the three Rosalynn Carter with victim of malnutrition at Thai camp The death rate at one of her stons: 25 a day

phemism for orphans, and they were cerily silent, showing neither tears nor smiles. The First Lady bent over and whispered to a girl of about six, but the child stared back uncomprehendingly. When she left the tent, waving, only one child responded with the traditional Indochinese Wai greeting, which involves holding the hands together in a praying position under the chin.

'Next the President's wife worked her way through a medical ward for the se-

ple had died there since the camp had | riously ill, run by U.S. missionaries. The patients were lying on straw mats only a foot or two apart, and flies clung to the faces of some as Mrs. Carter walked slowly among them. As she knelt to rub the arm of one woman, another on the next mat vomited into a pail. Well, it was a good try, said a nurse who had been helping the woman eat. As the First Lady

crouched and tried to spoon some food toward one middle-aged woman who was too weak to feed herself, she nearly stepped on a child of about ten who was hidden beneath a pile of towels. 'This girl is about to go,' said an angry doctor. ordering the newsmen covering the visit to keep back. 'She just had a blood transfusion, but she's not going to make it. At another point. Mrs. Carter leaned down to a girl of about eight. 'Can you eat this?' she whispered, lifting a spoonful of rice to the girl's lips. When she shook her head. Rosalvnn came close to tears."

After her tour of Sakaew, Mrs. Carter was flown northeast aboard a Thai air force prop jet to inspect a large camp housing 32,000 refugees from the Laotian civil war. The following day, after spending the night in Bangkok, she toured the transit center in the capital where huddled crowds of mostly Vietnamese boat people wait for resettlement in other countries.

The First Lady's mission took place as a broad international campaign to assist the refugees was gathering momentum. In New York City, the U.N. held a special conference on humanitarian relief for Cambodia at which representatives of 51 countries pledged a total of \$210 million in aid.

Equally important, as a result of international pressure. Soviet and Vietnamese resistance to outside re-

lief efforts in Cambodia appeared to be softening. Phnom-Penh last week declared that it would open up the Mekong River waterway to boats and barges carrying relief supplies, thus providing a vital new artery of distribution. Despite those concessions. Phnom-Penh's U.N. envoy. Keo Prasath, emphatically rejected Western proposals to use overland truck routes from the Thai border and the Cambodian airports at Battambang and Siem Reap, as faster and more efficient means of distri-







Cambodian mother and starving infant; U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim; refugee child wearing ID tag issued by relief officials

bution. Prasath also reiterated that all assistance must be channeled through the Phnom-Penh government.

On balance, however, leaders of the relief effort are encouraged. Henry La-bouisse, executive director of the U.N.'s Children's Fund (UNICEF) said that much of the food, medicine and other aid now being airlifted and shipped to Phnom-Penh has been "reaching deep into the countryside." A group of U.S. politicians expressed guarded hopes that the extensive campaign now getting under way to ship 30,000 tons of food to Cambodia by the end of this month may reach its goal U.N. members nevertheless intended to maintain pressure on Phnom-Penh at a full-scale General Assembly debate on the Cambodian issue this week. The main purpose for having the five Asian nations (Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines) sponsor the debate is, according to one ambassador, to make sure the Vietnamese and their Phnom-Penh clients "do not play 'the food card." In other words, to see to it that Phnom-Penh will not be allowed to use the selective distribution of food aid as a political weapon against Pol Pot's remaining supporters.

Though large-scale help now seems on the way, the need for food and other aid is urgent. U.N. officials reckon that more than 50,000 Cambodians already in Thailand are in grave danger from prolonged mainutrition. Just at the Sakaew camp that Mrs. Carter visited, as many as 25 people were dying every day.

as 23 people were dying every day.

The First Lady was visibly moved by what she had seen. Speaking to relief or what she had seen. Speaking to relief on the property of the president of the United States, I want to go home and do all I can to mobilize our people to help this situation. Fortunately for the friendless, helpiens refugees, many other influential voices in a number of the property o

From Ireland with Love

The Cambodian tragedy has also stirred a number of individual relief efforts. Two Irish patternes, Wicklow County Farmer Tim Philips, 41, and Dublin Sportswriter John O'Shea. 35. recruited a five-man flight crew and this month took a four-engine cargo plane loaded with 26 toos of food and medical supplies of the property in property of the property of the property in the property of the property

As their plane neared Phnom-Penh, Philips and O'Shea observed that there was practically no cultivated land. "Two been flying plink atternal for a long time." Philips said. "and I've never see may plink atternal for a long time." Philips said. "and I've never see was of life at Phnom-Penh's airport. I anding instructions had come from Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon). 130 miles away. The plane was met by representatives of the International Red Cross and of UNICEF At first it was not clear how the unloading was to be done. Then emerged a ragged line of Cambodian men.scarves around their heads, guarded by two socioliers.

They were desperately hungry. When a bag of sugar accidentally burst in the plane's hold, the workers descended on the sugar from all sides, scooping it up into their pockets and even licking it directly off the floor.

Philips and O'Shes soon talked their way into a guided tour of Phonon-Peah. Their driver was Cambodian. but one of the two ecorring soldiers was Vietnamese. The place seemed completely described and ruined, "Philips recalled. "There were a few people squatting on the sidewalfs heating food or water in tinc cans were a few people squatting on the sidewalfs heating food or water in tinc cans of houses. Everyone seemed to be converted problems about in the gutted interior of houses. Everyone seemed to be converted to the converted to the converted to the purpose. The only sign of transportation we saw was two dankey carts.

There were several soldiers, Philips and O'Shea could not tell from their uniforms whether they were Vestimers when Saminis Cambodin units. They showed their visitors the Independence Abrolument and seemed eager for them to have a look at Shinanchi's place. Leter some of the plane's crew approached a group of Cambodian soldiers. How are things compared with a year gog' one was asked.

"Much better," he replied.
"Is it good under the Vietnamese?"

died of starvation or disease.

"No. but it's better than it was."
"What would you prefer?"

"We would like to be free. The Vietnamese don't care what happens to us."
After his return to Bangkok, Philips spent a day at one of the huge refugee
camps. "It was the nearest thing to Dachau I have ever seen." he recalled. During
the few hours that Philips was there, an official told him, 546 people in the camp



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World



Kim Jae Kyu re-enacts the assassination

SOUTH KOREA

Normality

Business as usual in Seoul

once the initial shock of the assassinational mourning was over. South Koreans made a surprising and pleasant discovery: the country was actually getting along quite well without the late President Park Chung Hee. "Why, it's beautiful," said a young schoolteacher, Kim Sung Ho "Our country runs itself."

Well, not quite, Sitl. Bris stat doctors and dominated the country for 18 years, and many citizens had feared his abrupt death would spell instant chaos. Yet there had been no panic, no runs on banks, no scrambles to heard food. Instead, the prosperous capital city of Seoul (pop. 8 million) quickly pulsated back to normal life. The economy, despite 20% inflation, in the country despite 20% inflation.

How to account for the country's business-as-usual atmosphere? Said the commander of U.S. forces in Korea, General John Wickham Jr. "It demonstrates the John Wickham Jr. "It demonstrates the wind of the property of the property of the property of the property of the work of the country—that we knew we couldn't afford to go to pieces the middle class when the backbone of the country—that we knew we couldn't afford to go to pieces when the property of the prop

Few were willing to express comparable confidence about the country's political future. The question of succession was still unanswered. Acting President Choi Kyu Hah. 60. plunged into interminable rounds of talks with military leaders and key ministers. reportedly in search of a succession formula. The two main contenders for the presidency, former Premiers Kim Jong Pil. 53, and Chung Il Kwon, 61, were believed to be trying to dram up support, but thus far strictly behind the scenes

At week's end Choi announced that a presidential election would be held by next Jan. 26, as provided by Park's constitution. He added that the new President should then amend that constitution and call for fresh, unfettered elections. What Choi clearly envisions is a sort of caretaker presidency, and some observers expected that he might choose to run.

he government's numerous and con-Ricting stories about the assassination resembled a political drama concocted by the author of Rashomon. Last week martial law investigators issued what they called their "final" report. It concluded that Korean Central Intelligence Agency Director Kim Jae Kyu had killed Park because Kim had wild fantasies that he himself should be President. The report exonerated the military of any involvement in Kim's coup attempt; it also credited the martial law commander, Army Chief of Staff General Chung Seung Hwa. 53. with foiling the plot by arresting Kim and the other murderers. The investigation was evidently continuing. The day after the report was issued. Kim was taken to the scene of the crime by his interrogators to reconstruct his actions

The report also contained a new disclosure about Park's final moments. It revealed that two women, who were not identified, had also been present at the dinner where Park was slain and had tried to help the dying President. "Are you all right, Your Excellency?" one of them asked after he was shot and fell to the floor." I am all right, "he is said to have replied. They were his last works."

"Bull" Survives

Near divorce in the Diet

44] feel as if I have finally managed to get out of hot water, but I must expect to dip into even hotter water. So after he narrowly won a bruising struggle in the Diet to hang on as leader of Japan's majority government. "The Bull: as Ohira is known, might be feeling plenty of new heat soon. Though he fended off a strong challenge from his architval, finds himself at the top of not only a shaky regime but also a divided party.

Ohira's troubles began with Japan's Oct. 7 election Over the objections of other members of his Liberal Democratic Party (L.D.P.), he had called the vote eleven months earlier than he had to in hopes of increasing his strength in the Diet's 511-member lower house. But some frank talk by Ohira about higher taxes.

frightened voters, and the party's representation in the Diet slipped by one seat to 248.

Former Premier Takeo Miki demanded that Ohira step down as Premier and party leader, and his call was soon echoed by Fukudia, whom Ohira had ousted as soon echoed to the premier of the premier of the fused to quit. his triggering a flerce party struggle At first, says one L.D.P. Dret member, "we thought that it was like any fight between father and mother It would get serious. but in the end there would be attempts as commonities grow of fulfill.

When the Diet finally reassembled last week, it faced a situation unprecedented in Japan's 33-year postwar parliamentary history: two candidates from the same party. Ohira and Fukuda. vying for the premiership. Elected on the second ballot by a 17-vote margin. Ohira owed his victory to the support of a conservative breakaway party, the New Liberal Club. The win did little to enhance Ohira's stature, either in the Diet or in his own party. Fumed one L.D.P. member: "At first, I didn't think he should resign, but later I decided he should-not because of the election, but because he made our party look so damn foolish."

Ohim named a Cabinet that reflected the deep schisms within the party. Though none of the faction chiefs personally accepted positions. Ohima was reasonally accepted positions. Ohima was the party of the party positions, including the post of socretary-general, to members of rival factions. Despite these fence-mending effects of the party of



Premier Ohira after Diet vote
He beamed, but his party bombed

World

AIVLIO

Next: No. 189?

Another soldier in power

The streets of La Pax were littered with the bodies of balin protesters, and the new regime was holed up in the presidence of the present of the present streets, and the new regime was holed up in the presidence of the present strike, and a former head of state was demanding an uprising in support of the oussel government. But the Bollowing was depending and the present streets and the p



The colonel at post-coup press conference
The advantage of striking first.

was its timing. It came just days after U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had urged Bolivia's leading politicians to support the country's first civilian government after a decade of military rule.

Guevara. a political moderate who more served as Bolivia's Ambassador to the United Nations, seemed doomed from the moment he was sworn in three months ago. Various plotters began planning at least three separate coups after Bolivia's Congress choes Guevara to serve as inversified to the control of the co

During the next five days, at least 100 protesters died as the new strongman used armor and fighter planes to crush a general strike called by the million-member Bolivian Central Labor Federation (COB). The death toll might have been higher

had Natusch not stationed troops at the mines outside the capital to prevent militant workers from following their usual practice of heading for La Paz with

satchels of dynamite whenever a coup takes place.

The previous military President, General David Padilla, who stepped down in August, vainly appealed to soldiers to stage a countercoup that would return the presidency to Guevara, but by week's end active resistance to the new regime

halted.
Natusch, whose uncle. German Busch
Becerra. headed a military regime 40
years ago, lifted martial law and press
consomity. then vent on TV to p feet
consomity. Then vent on TV to p feet
consomity. The size of the s

regime unsettled.

Washington had hoped that under Guevara, Bolivia would join with its fell-tow Andean Group members (Colombia, Venezuela, Peru and Ecuador) to form a pro-democracy blos in Latin America. Seeking to keep that notion alive, the Formagn Ministers of the other Andean countries issued a statement expressing their urns to "democratic and harmonious national comity." The only way to achieve that may be Coup No. 189.

Arap Moi Again

This time with feeling

n Kenya an election campaign is always a kind of carnival, but the one that wound up last week was especially tumultuous. No fewer than 742 hopefuls ran for the 158 seats in parliament, and nearly 5 million people, a record 80% of the electorate, went to the polls. And why not? By some estimates, the candidates spent as much as \$75 million on free beer and assorted gifts (two staples: cheap watches and T shirts) as well as outright bribes to curry favor with voters. And as for the office seekers, they could bank on a rule of Kenyan politics that says that fewer than half of the sitting legislators ever get reelected This year, as usual, only about half the incumbents retained their seats. Observed a Kenyan economist: "We don't shoot people in this country We let the public do if for us.

The most significant thing the public diast week was to give a rousing vote of confidence to Daniel arap Moi. 55. Arap Moi has been Kenya's President since the death 14 months ago of Jomo Kenyatta, the autocratic old warrior who secured the East African country's inde-

pendence from Britain in 1963 and ruled it like a benign colonial governor ever after. Not only did Arap Moi run without opposition in his own district, but many old Kenyatta regime holdovers were ousted. Arap Moi will now be free to put his own imprint on Kenya.

A shy, modest man who does not somelor of rink, Arap Moi was the flamboyant Kenyatta's somewhat faceless Vice President for eleven years before Jome's death. Then, the conventional wiston in a bloody tribal struggle for power, because no one in sight had anything like the following of the Mare (Swallill for old man). But with the backing of the two most powerful Cabinet ministers belonging to the dominant Kitoyu trible. Arity's rulius party, the Kenya by the country's rulius party, the Kenya



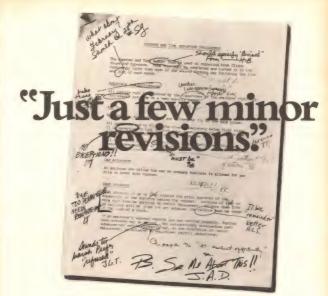
The President strumming at a rally

African National Union.

Many believed that Arap Moi would be controlled by Kenyatta's Old cronies. Indeed he did retain nearly all of Kenyatta's old cronies. Gradually, however, he began moving out on his own—literally, Casting himself as a circuit-riding populist, he visited villages throughout the country; in the past year, Arap Moi has logged more miles than Kenyatta did during all of his 15 years in power.

More important, the new President attacked the ilis that took root in Ken-ya's government during Kenyata's later years. As part of his "footslep" program to root out corruption, he publicly denounced five MP 2s for illegal practices, launched an investigation of contracts awarded by the Ministry of Works, and started a probe of the Lands Ministry. Arap Moi also virtually eliminated the il-

*In Kenya the President must be a member of parliament, and is elected by that body for a five-year term.



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The Department Head loved it, and made 8 minor revisions.

Etc., etc., etc

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World

legal killing of game and the smuggling of ivory and coffee long tolerated by Kenyatta. Says one villager from Jomo's home town of Gatundu. "Everyone likes the President because he has stopped the outlaws, the poachers and coffee smugglers. In Kenyatta's day, you could see a big man with a number of jobs. Nowadays it is one man, one job, and we are

all equal."

Arap Moi has also set about to diminish the power of Kenyatta's Kikuyu tribe, which, though it accounts for only 20% of the 15.5 million population, exercises near total control over Kenya's 40 other tribes. In last week's election many members of the tribe's political arm, the GEMA Party, were defeated; in Nairobi only three of the eight M.P.s affiliated with the tribal party were re-elected. Among the defeated was Kenyatta's righthand man and brother-in-law, Mbivu Koinange, who got through the 1974 election by locking up his opponent before voting day and releasing him afterward. The President has also begun to chip away at the large business and land holdings of the Kenyatta family by quietly authorizing repossessions of property by unpaid creditors and pressing for payment of back taxes. The total wealth is staggering: Jomo Kenvatta's estate alone is estimated to be worth more than \$200 million.

s Kenya's chief executive, Arap Moi A faces many unsolved problems. Housing is poor: in some cities, families crowd into a single room with no toilet or kitchen and pay \$60 a month for the privilege. Jobs are scarce, inflation is running at 11%, and Kenya's export earnings are down as a result of a drastic drop in world prices for coffee and tea over the past two years. At the same time, Kenya's population is expected to double by the end of the century, which may make it impossible to raise living standards. Today Kenya's economy is heavily dependent on foreign aid, which now totals \$300 million a year, or about 10% of the country's gross national product. Explains an Agency for International Development economist stationed there: "People like to give money to Kenya. It's a sexy country.

Despite the country's economic problems, most Kenyans seem to feel that it is particularly blessed, not least in the area of race relations. Kenya's white population, now more than 60,000, has actually grown since independence. "I do not know anybody who is not very happy with our lot right now," says Philip Leakey, 30, a member of the famous family of Kenya-based anthropologists, who last week became one of the few whites ever to be elected to parliament. And as for those slipping living standards, Kenyans believe they are not alone among their neighbors. As one proverb has it: "In Kenya, dogs eat dogs, but in Tanzania, dogs eat nothing

EAST BLOC

"Your Cause Is Also Our Cause"

As new crackdowns proceed, dissidents try to link arms

Following a 15-month pause, the Seviets have resumed a crackdown on crities of the regime. In three centers of human rights agitation, Moscow, Kiev and Vilnius, KGI operatives over the past two weeks have arrested four prominent dissidents and searched the homes of several others. The moves mean a further thinning of Soviet dissident ranks already greatly diminished by the deportation of Alexander Solzhenitym and Antion and imprisonment of Yuri Orlov and Anatoli Sticharansky, among others, in 1978. The movement's sole internation-



Czechoslovak Playwright Václav Havel
After the trial, a new spirit of unity.

ally known survivor is Nobel Peace Prizewinner Andrei Sakharov, who last week condemned the new arrests as "a calculated blow by the organs of repression."

Western observers speculated that the arrests might mark an effort to silence the remaining dissident voices in the Soviet Union before the Olympic Games open in Moscow next July. Those seized represent several currents within the Soviet human rights movement.

▶ Father Gleb Yakunin, 45, arrested in Moscow, leads Russian Orthodox believers who chafe under state control of church affairs.

Mathematician Tatiana Velikanova, 47. another Muscovite, is a longtime champion of the persecuted Seventh-day Adventists, Crimean Tartars and Jewish "refuseniks" who have been denied per-

mission to emigrate abroad.

Music Teacher Mykola Gorbal, 38, iailed in Kiev, has been active on be-

half of Ukrainian political prisoners.

Mistorian Antanas Terleckas, 51. seized in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, is a Lithuanian nationalist and a Roman Catholic who had contributed to underground human rights journals.

Antidissident activity has also been heavy lately in other East bloc states, most notably Czechoslovakia. There, the particular target of Party Chief Gustáv Husák's secret police is the movement that has grown over the past three years around Charter 77, a human rights manifesto signed by 1,000 people. Last month six Charter 77 organizers, among them Playwright Václav Havel, received sentences of up to five years for "subversion of the republic." Since then more than 25 Charter 77 signers have been hauled in for questioning on various trumped-up charges, including attempts to blow up a Prague bridge and to assassinate Husak.

he arrests and trials in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have fostered a new spirit of unity among East bloc dissidents, who have launched a coordinated attempt to defend one another. The groundwork was laid earlier this year at a Moscow meeting between Sakharov and a member of Poland's major human rights organization, the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), After that, KOR publicly expressed solidarity with Soviet dissidents, and 15 Polish protesters staged a hunger strike on behalf of the Charter 77 organizers before their Prague trial. Following the trial. Sakharov wrote an open letter to Charter 77 and KOR activists calling for the "unification of our struggle for human rights in Poland. Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Even more striking have been the protests emanating from Hungary. Because Hungary enjoys more freedom than most East blue countries, its intellectuals had been reluctant to risk that status by defending dissidents in other Communist countries. Two weeks ago, however, 234 prominent Hungarian writers, tilm makeconomists signed various letters protesting the Prague arrests and trinsi right be Prague arrests and trinsi ng the Prague arrests and trinsi

In one particularly telling missive addressed to the Charter 77 signatories, Philosophers Gyórgy Bence and János Kie, and Journalist János Kends and they felt a special sense of responsibility for the aspecial sense of responsibility for the inpated in the occupation of Cexchoslovakia' in 1968. As a result of that, the Hungarians told the Czechoslovakis, Your cause is also our cause." It is a sentiment that is increasingly shared by Polics, Rustens throughout the East blee who strive ears throughout the East blee who strive for greater freedom.

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It Is "Clearly a War Situation"

A political leader of "the movement" speaks on I.R.A. aims

R.A.—I ran away!" With that de-risive taunt, British troops arriving in Ulster ten years ago dismissed the threat posed by the remnants of the old Irish Republican Army. Their laughter died quickly after the birth of the Provisional I.R.A., whose cold-eyed gunmen began ambushing Protestant loyalist civilians, policemen and the newly arrived soldiers with ruthless efficiency. But a decade of Provo bloodshed, climaxed by the wanton murder of Lord Mountbatten in Southern Ireland last August, has eroded much of the I.R.A.'s support in the largely Catholic Republic. "They started well but now they're Communists." growled a Dublin workman over a pint of Guinness last week. "They don't want Irish unity. All they want is power, like the Ayatullah or Fidel Castro.

Anti-I.R.A. attitudes have hardened in the Republic in the wake of the Mountbatten assassination, and police there appear to be having some success at curbing the guerrillas' activities. Late in October. Dublin authorities seized a large shipment of contraband U.S.-made arms that included M60 machine guns, and last week they began the trial of two I.R.A. defendants charged with planting the bomb on Mountbatten's boat. Though the two. Francis McGirl, 24, and Thomas McMahon, 31, are pleading innocent, detectives testified that they had traces of gelignite explosive material, sand and paint from the boat on their clothing.

Ireland's Prime Minister Jack Lynch, meanwhile, arrived in Washington for talks with President Jimmy Carrer, Congessmen and Irish-American leaders on the problems posed by the turnoil in U-up in the U.S. Shortly before Lynch's view in began, 1811 agents in Philadelphia are rested I.R.A. Bomber Michael O'Rourke in Philadelphia and charges of illegal immigration. O'Rourke, who blusted his way out of a Doblin jail in July 1976, may remove to have him extradited.

A united freland has always been the goal of the I.R.A. which looks on the six northern counties of Ulster as a beleaguered colony. While Ulster's 65% Protestant majority clings to its ties with England, the I.R.A. termains a potent force among Ulster Catholics, who chafe at the constant surveillance of their impoversibed neighborhoods by airmed British

According to British intelligence, the supreme leader of the Provos is Belfast-born Gerry Adams, 31, a sometime student and bartender who has spent 4½ of the past nine years in prison without being convicted of a serious crime. In the past three years, the British say, Adams

has honed the Provos into a deadly terrorist force. Despite their small numbers there are only 600 to 700 gummen, organized into cells of four to six men each they manage to tie down 30,000 troops and police. A top British officer in Ulster says flatly: "Gerry Adams runs the I.R.A. in the North."

Adams, a soft-voiced six-footer with spectacles and a brown beard, denies that he is the "mastermind" behind the new I.R.A. He claims that the British want to presonalize" their enemy and settled on him for the purpose. "No one man could have done everything they say I did," he



The Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams

Even the Dublin government must fall.

says. Yet he is clearly a top strategist in the Republican movement. Speaking of ficially as vice president of the Provisional Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Provos, Adams met TIME Correspondent Erik Amfitheatrof in Ulster last week in the first interview he has granted to any U.S. publication.

On the Mounthatten murder: The I.R.A. gave clear reasons for the execution. I think it is unfortunate that anyone has to be killed, but the fluor created by Mounthatten's death showed up the hypocritical attitude of the media establishment. As a member of the House of Lords, Mounthatten's death showed up the hypocritical British and Irish politics. What the I.R.A. did to him is what Mounthatten had been doing all his life to other people; and with

his war record I don't think he could have objected to dying in what was clearly a war situation. He know the danger involved in coming to this country. In my opinion, the I.R.A. achieved its objective: people started paying attention to what was happening in Ireland.

On the I.R.A.'s support: Clearly there is considerable support for the movement. The proof of this is that after a whole decade of war, the I.R.A. appears to be able to expand and escalate at will. It is obviously a small force fighting against tremendous odds and couldn't even exist unless there was popular support for it.

On the charge that the I.R.A. will eventually attack the Irish Republic: The main aim of this phase of the struggle is to remove the British (from Ulster) and to create conditions where the Irish people, in a united Ireland, can establish social democracy with complete control over their own destiny. The movement wants to see the creation of a decentralized socialist state. Obviously, even the term united Ireland means that the government that has been set up in the Republic must come down. The working-class majority from Ulster-Protestants and Catholics-don't simply want to be absorbed into a decadent state. The Republic has got severe economic problems: high unemployment and all the ills of an unjust society whose wealth is controlled by a very small group. Obviously, that government has to come down, and they know it. Their interpretation is that the I.R.A. is trying to de-

On whether the movement is Marxist This is propagnafia. The Republican movement has always been socialist in the Irish tradition of radical thinkers. It has never been a Marxist movement, and it is not one now. We are not enamored of what happens in the East bloc countries, and at the same time we don't think democracy exists in the West We would have a recovery the common with the Third World.

On links with other guerrillas: There have never been close fies between the Republican movement and the P.L.O., the Basques or any other revolutionary groups. Obviously, there are parallels, and we would express solidarity with their struggles for national liberation.

On the alternative to violence? Your country overthrew colonial rule because its people were forced to. Armed struggle is a response to what the Establishment is doing. The British soldiers come with weapons. They don't come and say, "Let's try to sort this out." Their political masters don't say, "Let's try some other way." They use force, they use all the instruments of war. The I.R.A., as an amiliestation of the people's resistance, is a response to that.



The Nazis' Forgotten Victims

Angry gypsies are pressing to settle old scores

When they first appeared in Germany 500 years ago, one chronicle denounced them as an "uncouth, dirty and barbarous" people who "live like dogs and are expert at thieving and cheating." During the Middle Ages, aristocrats out on a hunt considered them fair game, along with birds and boar. More than 400,000 of them were murdered by the Nazis in the course of the Holocaust that also claimed 6 million Jewish lives. Even today West Germany's gypsies are openly persecuted. Says Grattan Puxon, general secretary of the Roma World Union, an international gypsy organization based in Bern, Switzerland: "We are the forgotten victims of Fascism."

A race of dark-eyed, olive-skinned traders who began migrating out of India a millennium ago and still speak their own language (a guttural tongue with Aryan roots called Romany), gypsies have been vilified wherever they have gone. Of the 10 million who now live outside India, roughly half have settled in Eastern Europe, while a million are in Western Europe and 500,000 are in the U.S. But only 50,000 gypsies are in West Germany. It is the home, they believe, of the worst prejudice against them.

Though studies have shown that the rate of violent and sexual crimes is lower among gypsies than among the German population as a whole, they remain marked as dangerous people, as well as chronic pickpockets and con men. Tellingly, the German name for gypsy, Zigeuner, literally means "wandering swin-Complains Romani Rose, a German gypsy activist: "If a sandwich is missing in the schoolroom, a gypsy child gets blamed."

Attempts by gypsies to move into decent neighborhoods invariably touch off protests. Most gypsies are confined to ghettos: in Bad Hersfeld, a town of 30,000 near the East German border, 200 gypsies live in old refugee housing that lacks hot water and indoor toilets and is so overrun by rats from a nearby garbage dump that children are not allowed out at night. In summer, when gypsies take to the highways in camper trucks as wandering salesmen and secondhand dealers, the treatment that they encounter is especially rough. Owners of almost 90% of West Germany's campsites, claiming that the gypsies would pester vacationers by peddling their wares, have tacked up signs reading GYPSIES FOR-BIDDEN. Police periodically descend on camping gypsies with guard dogs and submachine guns and force them to move on. "We are the original campers," Rose complains. "Yet now everyone can live like a gypsy in West Germany except gypsies

As part of Hitler's drive to exterminate "inferior races," the Nazis in 1938 established a Central Office for Combatting the Gypsy Menace, which arbitrarily classified thousands of gypsies as common criminals and sent them to concentration camps. Later, gypsies

became targets of the Nazi crusade for racial purity.

The downfall of the Third Reich, however, did not halt the devaluation of gypsy lives. Though West Germany paid nearly \$715 million in reparations to Israel and various Jewish organizations, gypsies as a group received nothing. In 1952, when the new West German government offered to pay survivors five deutsche marks (worth roughly \$1.20) for each day they had spent in the camps, many illiterate gypsies simply signed away their claims for compensation in exchange for trifling sums. Gypsy activists have uncovered a case of a woman who received \$10 for the death of her baby in Auschwitz

West German officials have rejected the efforts of several thousand gypsy survivors of the war to establish citizenship in the Federal Republic, even though their families have lived in Germany for generations. What particularly galls gypsy leaders is that these rejections seem to be based on Nazi records of alleged misconduct. Says Rose: "No postwar German government has acknowledged our suffering. They agonize over the Jews, and rightly. But they have ignored us.

Joined by Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, gypsies have begun in press for rights and recognition. Last month 2,000 gypsies marched to the stone marker at Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where thousands of Jews and gypsies were

n a brief but moving talk, Simone Veil, a French Jew who survived Bergen-Belsen and is now President of the European Parliament, recalled how the music of gypsy fiddlers had bolstered the morale of the camp's prisoners, until one day the music stopped. She pledged her support for a ten-point list of demands that gypsy leaders presented to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt last week. It asks. among other things, for an official acknowledgment of the Germans' responsibility for the gypsies' wartime persecution and an end to discrimination in jobs and housing, free access to campsites and a "re-education program" for prejudiced police. Gypsy activists are also negotiating with the government for a reparations payment of \$365 million that could be used to pay for educational and cultural programs benefiting all of Western Europe's gypsies.

Schmidt's government has expressed sympathy for the gypsies' cause; one official has urged it to settle the compensation issue "promptly and generously. If that does not happen soon, some gypsies are prepared to take further steps to underscore their grievances. One tactic under consideration: inviting arrest by tearing down signs barring gypsies from campsites in the hope that it might lead to a court ruling affirming the full equality of a people still searching for a place to call home.

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Behavior

Facing the Fear of Flying

Flight attendants cope with the trauma of fatal disasters

When a Southern Airways DC-9 crashed in rain and hail near New Hope, Ga., in 1977, Flight Attendant Sandy Purl was not among the 70 dead. But she came to wish she had been. Hospitalized and sedated for shock. Purl would leap from her bed each night shouting. "Grab your ankles!" and try to force other patients into the classic precrash body position. A year later, she was still overcome with guilt that she had survived and her passengers died. One recurrent fantasy was that her arms and legs were gone. Says Purl: "I thought maybe if I had no legs or arms. I would be a victim of the crash and that would be O.K. I looked into the mirror one morning and beat it to splinters because I looked so good. My husband was absolutely supportive, but I divorced him. I woke up a year later and thought, 'My God, what have I done?

Purl is an example of postcrash syndrome among airline personnel: a deep trauma that combines survivor guilt, depression, rage and an array of physical symptoms ranging from digestive problems and hypertension to sleeplessness and heart ailments. Some survivors develop phobias or panic when they hear sounds that remind them of the crash, and many are so worn out by the continuing anguish that they say they are simply too tired to make even minor decisions about their lives. Says Psychiatric Sociologist Margaret Barbeau of Glendale. Calif. "You can walk away from an accident

without physical injury, but the emotional injury may be even worse. You can't X-ray it, but the injuries are real.

Barbeau devotes much of her practice to treating airline personnel and families of the dead after fatal plane crashes. Hired by the Association of Flight Attendants. she conducts group sessions and keeps a phone line open night and day for troubled survivors. Reason: the victim's obsessive need to talk about the ordeal is part of the healing process. Says Barbeau: "The unburdening must go on. over and over again.

The first reaction of the survivor. says Barbeau, is "psychic numbing," a defense mechanism that keeps him or her functioning Then the full horror of the crash pokes through, fades again, and gradually comes to overwhelm the victim. Like many flight attendants, Arlene Feroe, who survived an Alaska Airlines accident, ran around the hospital for days apol-



other attendant drove his automobile into a tree during a hallucination: he "saw" a colleague who died in a plane crash sitting beside him in the car.

Barbeau's aim is to convert guilt and depression into rage and tears-to get the emotion out so that healing may begin. Justly or not, the first wave of rage is usually directed at the airline for not doing more to prevent crashes. Says Sandy Clay, a survivor of the United crash at Portland, Ore., last December: "I wanted to blow up the airline. I tried to run over an executive of the company after they forced me to take sick leave and workmen's compensation." Some would like to get back to



ogizing to injured passengers. An- Converting guilt and depression into rage and tears

work, but feel they are treated like pariahs. Others are terrified about flying again, and shocked that employers ignore the effects of trauma and want them right back at work. Says Lannie Chevalier. who survived two fatal helicopter crashes: if only I jumped right back on a plane. Their attitude was. The pilots have gone back to flying, so why can't you?" "In fact. says Clinical Psychologist Dan Johnson. the healing process is often slow; psychological symptoms may still be increasing a year or more after the accident.

Johnson and Barbeau are working with Western Air Lines flight attendants in the wake of the Mexico City crash last month. It marks the first time that grief counseling has been requested by an airline. Says Western Vice President Larry Lee: "We had a very heavy grief situation. Many had just graduated after seven weeks of training with some of the victims. They become so close in these classes."

Johnson and Barbeau met with relatives and colleagues of the victims. They also gave a quick course in grief counseling to senior Western employees, each of whom was assigned to help the family of one of the victims deal with their grief. The problem in the past, says Johnson, la that when executives are responsible for coping with the grief of employees, they become so involved and work so hard that they develop the same symptoms as the grief victims themselves

Barbeau, who counseled relatives and colleagues of the dead after two air disasters that left no survivors-the 1978 San Diego crash of a 727 and the DC-10 crash in Chicago last May-says the

shock resulting from these crashes was more widespread than usual among airline employees. Reason: the outside observer always wards off fears of death by identifying with the survivor; with no survivors, those fears are harder to

"The San Diego and Chicago crashes really helped focus attention on the fears of aircraft personnel," says Barbeau. "It's slowly getting to be O.K. now to talk about fear of flying among flight attendants and the general public as well. People who have gone through something like this are not the same afterward.

Still, most try to get back on the track. Two and a half years after her crash. Sandy Purl has gone back to work as a flight attendant with Republic Airlines. "Maybe it won't work and I'll wind up working at McDonald's," she says. "I'm hurt. I'm sad. But I'm putting my puzzle together, and I will go forward.

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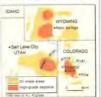
nce again the turmoil in Iran emphasizes American dependence upon what Jimmy Carter calls the "thin line of oil tankers stretching halfway around the earth to one of the most unstable regions in the world." The drive to gain some freedom from OPEC by developing domestic energy sources has never been more pressing. Last week the Senate easily adopted by a vote of 65 to 19 a \$20 billion synthetic-fuel program that, among other things, would turn the nation's vast coal deposits into oil and gas. But of all the old and new sources of petroleum now being freshly examined, none is more promising or as controversial as the oil-bearing rock known as shale

Venturesome companies are betting millions on shale as they plunge deep into development projects that could soon foster a new energy industry. TIME Los Angeles Bureau Chief William Rademaekers reports from the heart of the U.S. shale country

The dirt road running up Parachute Creek in western Colorado winds through an ever steeper canyon. As the road climbs, it deteriorates into first a stream bed and then a cliff-hugging path that passes a blackened ledge of shale rock that was struck by lightning two years ago and spouted flames for three days. The Indians once dubbed the magic mineral "the rock that burns.

Finally, at an altitude of 8,200 ft., the track breaks through onto a rolling plateau of sagebrush, juniper and pine. It is here, on this remote plateau, southwest of Rifle, Colo., that Caterpillars of the Colony Development Operation have already cut 300 vds. into a mountain of shale. Near by, in another canyon, Union Oil engineers monitor a conveyor belt delivering a stream of shale into a giant funnel. Some 40 miles south, at Logan's Wash, Occidental Petroleum miners have cut two mine faces into the sides of a shale mountain. Farther northwest lies another tract of shale land soon to be developed by Gulf Oil and Standard of Indiana

This is the Piceance Basin, the heart



of a geological formation containing the world's biggest known deposit of oil shale. Locked in the mottled rock is the energy equivalent of about 1.2 trillion bbl. of oil. or roughly 40 times the nation's present proven reserves of liquid petroleum. Actually, "shale oil" is neither shale

nor oil. The rock is marl, a variety of limestone laced with a solid fossil fuel called kerogen. The kerogen was deposited 40 million years ago in the form of millions of tons of vegetable matter that collected on the bottom of a mammoth freshwater lake that then covered Utah, Wyoming and Colorado. But these lake-bed accumulations were never subjected to temperatures as high as 300° F and to extreme pressures that in time created underground deposits of readily usable liquid oil and natural gas. Now man must

finish nature's work. For years shale oil remained undeveloped because conventional petroleum always hovered about \$2 below the projected price of shale. Capital development costs have inflated almost as fast as OPEC prices. In the 1960s, when crude was selling for \$2 a bbl., estimates were that oil from rock could be produced for \$4 a bbl. Now, with world prices going up almost daily beyond the \$23.50 OPEC level, shale oil may be produced for \$30. But spurred by the ever higher price of crude, a group of energy entrepreneurs aim toward turning out more than 200,000 bbl. of shale oil a day by 1990. This surpasses the average amount of crude oil imported so far this year from Iran Shale drillers know where to find their

fuel, but they differ on the best way to get it out. Essentially, shale rock must be "cooked" at 900' F so that the kerogen can be vaporized and extracted. Two processes have been developed to do this

One is an above-ground method in which the shale is "distilled" in somewhat the same way that moonshiners extract alcohol from corn mash. After the shale is mined, the rock is crushed. Union Oil then moves shale chunks through a towering surface retort, where hot gases heat it to release the kerogen. Colony uses a different process: it cooks finely ground shale in giant drums by mixing the marl with superheated, marble-size ceramic balls that distribute the temperature evenly and vaporize the kerogen. The balls are then separated from the spent shale by a screen, reheated and used again.

A second, more radical method involves cooking the shale underground. Occidental, which has pioneered this process, plans to dig at least 2,000 chambers connected by tunnels under a 5,000-acre shale tract leased from the Government. The chambers, each about the size of a football field and 250 ft. to 300 ft. high, are created by drilling parallel tunnels leading from a vertical mineshaft into the rock at two different depths. The shale in between is then reduced to rubble by explosions in both the top and bottom. Each chamber is sealed, and pilot-light burners are lowered to start cooking the rock. Kerogen released from the shale settles to the bottom of the chamber and is piped out. Occidental engineers have already "fired" six giant chambers at an experimental facility at Logan's Wash-with mixed results. In an experiment last July, the roof of the chamber collapsed. In others, the yield of shale oil was not as high as expected.

Whatever extraction method is used.



A chunk of kerogen-rich marl limestone For days, a ledge spouted flames



the investment will be enormous. Union's proposed 9.000-bbl -a-day plant would cost \$130 million; Occidental's 50,000bbl.-a-day operation carries a \$1 billion price tag. Colony's process, because of its size and capital investment, would be the most expensive: \$1.5 billion to \$2 billion for 50,000 bbl. of oil a day.

The Government stands ready to help because shale oil is an important part of Jimmy Carter's energy program. The Administration is more optimistic than oilmen: it envisages the production of 400,-000 bbl. a day by 1990. Carter wants Congress to grant shale developers a tax credit of \$3 a bbl. to make shale oil prices competitive with those of conventional petroleum. In addition to the Senate's \$20 billion program, the Administration is providing \$2.2 billion in fiscal 1980, largely for shale.

But if the energy companies and Washington policymakers are sold on shale, others are not. Colorado Governor Richard Lamm protests that any crash development program "could do irreparable damage to our water supply, to our communities, to our environment." State officials, local representatives of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Sierra Club and similar groups are allied to stop or at least to stall shale development. Water, a precious resource in the tri-state region, is one of their greatest concerns. Conservationists claim that shale extraction could use from one to five barrels of

water for each barrel of oil, but company officials maintain much less would be required. Critics also argue that the underground marl-cooking process could release salts, and perhaps even arsenic, into the region's ground water. Shale opponents protest finally that the surfaceretorting process leaves piles of rubble and dust behind that would ruin the pristine Rocky Mountain valleys. A 400,000-bbl.a-day industry would require 500,000 tons of shale to be mined, retorted and in some cases relocated

onetheless, opponents are willing to permit small test projects of the new energy so that the impact of unknown technologies can be fully measured. Says Terry Thoem, a director of the Denver EPA: "We have been studying shale for years, and now we would like to see some further development on a limited scale to get further data on a shale industry's impact-on water tables, on soil, on just about everything."

The energy companies insist they can respond to the environmental concerns. They claim that their water requirements would be reasonable. Company officials also say that the underground cooking process seals the chambers, actually fuses the rock, and prevents salts from leaching into ground water. Firms plan to contour the piles of leftover shale rubble and to plant them with local wild flowers and grasses: tests have shown good results. And most of the industry agrees that the first production units should be small test sites rather than giant plants.

Although the first shale patent was granted in England in 1694 and called for distilling "oyle from a kind of stone." oil from the dark, veined rock so far has not been developed primarily because conventional petroleum has always been cheaper. Now, at last, economic necessity and innovative technology may lead to tapping the vast potential of shale.



Crushed minerals at the Union Oil retort Now man must finish nature's work

People



Alabama Coach Bear Bryant looks skeptical as Bob Hope explains his Ski Nose stant play to Bryant and Joe Namath in Tuscaloosa

Very few football teams use an eight-three defense these days. But if one should, there is a fine running play against it in which the quarterback fakes to a running back, who moves off tackle to take out the outside linebacker, and then-wait a minute, those blackboard chalk lines resemble old Ski Nose himself. Which is probably why Alabama Coach Bear Bryant, whose defenses are more sophisticated and whose team, as a result, is so far No.1 this year, looked skeptical when Bob Hope dropped by to outline the Ski Nose slant for the Crimson Tide. Hope was



Bette Midler at Roseland party

in Tuscaloosa filming for a Nov. 19 NBC-TV special, Bab Hope on Campus, which is all about cornerbacks, coeds and the kind of school spirit that bloome Warwick and the Village People generate. But if it was all for fun, why was Jee Namath, the Bear's most factories with the Bear's most factories and the proper special scrutinizing that eight-three prevent defense so seriously?

opening I've ever been to, and I've been to a few. Thank God this one was mine." So saying, a beaming Bette Midler clenched a rose m her teeth like a kitschy Carmen. The flower was not accidental. Midler's first movie. The Rose, all about a downhill rocker who finally ODs and drops dead onstage, had just opened in New York to favorable reviews. So Midler was being majestically feted at a post-premiere dinner party. At the Roseland Ballroom. of course With 2.999 other real roses decorating the dance floor in addition to the one in Midler's mouth.

"It was the most exciting

Atlanta's Emory University, a 143-year-old Methodist institution with an enrollment of 7,500, has been described as "Coca-Cola U." because of periodic endowments it re-



Anna Bergman in Stockholm

ceives from home from the crosstown Coca-Cola Co. The latest donation to C-C U. last week was enough to slake the thirst of less-carbonated, better-known institutions Harvard or Yale Gruff Robert Woodruff, 89, who spent one year at Emory, then dropped out to pursue a business career that eventually led to the Coca-Cola presidency and chairmanship, presented the school with 3 million shares of Coke stock valued at \$100 million. There has never been an individual donation of that magnitude to any American school Said Emory President James T. Laney, unable to swallow his bubbly reaction: "We're encouraging everyone

to drink Coke

perhaps Bergman's most memorable film: its Anglo-German cast, insisted the director, was engaged not in porn but in a mere "nudie romp." Ingmar Bergman? Hardly, but close. The romping Penelope is the famed film director's daughter Anna, 29. who left Sweden 15 years ago to pursue her own career. So far, it has consisted mostly of nude modeling, skin flicks and dumb-blond roles on English TV. But Bergman may yet need the wardrobe department as she prepares to play a part, she boasts, that will "put me on the map." It is in a genuine Bergman movie, she says, so far undisclosed, starring father's favorite Liv Ullmann.

Penelope Pulls It Off was

On the Record

Charles L. Schultze, presidential economic adviser, on the state of the economy: "It's the case of the missing recession. It's out there somewhere, but no-body can find it."

Lawton M. Chiles, Florida Demoratic Senator, assessing budget requests for protection and perks provided for former Presidents. "This year, for the first time, the amount we spend on former Presidents will be more than the appropriation for the White House." U.S. Government Report:



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Science

Middle America's Fault

It may some day cause another major earthquake

I was as frightening a natural catacityms as had hefalien the young nation Buildings tumbled and foreas were destroyed Giant fissures opened in the ground, accompanied by a thunderous roar and a spreading sulfirous odor. Wrote one eyewiness. The whole land was moved and waved like waves of the sea." The usually placid Mississippi became an angry torrent of whirippools and rapids, overflowing its banks and possibly even briefly reversing course.

Three times, between Dec 16, 1817, and Feb. 7, 1817, such scenes were repeated as major earthquakes jolted the repeated as major earthquakes jolted the repeated as major earthquakes jolted the properties of the



Geophysicist Huttii with seismograph drum The land moved like waves of the sea.

would have ranged between 7.3 and 7.5 on the Richter scale. By comparison, the big quake that destroyed San Francisco in 1906 was 8.3, and the 1964 quake in Alaska registered 8.5.

The trio of quakes has another distinction. Most major quakes occur around the boundaries of the great moving plates that form the earth's outer layers. One such region lies along California's quakeprone San Andreas fault, where the North American plate and the adjacent Pacific plate are grinding horizontally against each other as they move in opposite directions. When friction causes these plates to stick, stresses build up that are eventually released in a quake when the rock suddenly fractures and the plates lurch ahead. Yet the New Madrid area lies in the very heart of the North American plate, far from its boundaries. Why should it have shaken so violently in the early 1800s and, in fact, continued to quiver occasionally ever since?

Seismologists now believe they have pan of the answer. Using oil-exploration equipment, they bounced sound waves off the subterranean rock where the tremors were centered. The echoes yielded a surprising profile of this hidden structure. Along a large crack, corresponding layers of rock were offset vertically—in some

It goes as well with silk as

places by as much as 1,000 meters (3,300 ft.). In other words, a break had occurred and some of the rock sank Apparently at some time in the remote past, the rock had been uplifted-perhaps by volcanism Then, as the volcanic flows cooled, part of the rock collapsed, creating sharp breaks Subsequently the breaks were obscured by the soft sediments of the Mississippi River Valley

The U.S. Geological Survey scientists mapped only a small section of this fault zone-in Arkansas' Mississippi and Craighead counties-but they suspect it continues north for some 100 km (62 miles), through Arkansas and northwestern Tennessee. There the fault system veers off past New Madrid and probably continues into southern Illinois. In all, the scientists count about half a dozen associated faults, although their data are still sketchy Says St. Louis University Geophysicist Sean-Thomas Morrissey: "You can't go out and stick your finger in the fault like in California.

The fault zone apparently also lies within an even larger geological structure discovered previously during magnetic and gravitational surveys a great underground rift in the earth's crust marked by the subsidence of rock over an area at least 190 km (120 miles) long and 50 km (30 miles) wide Scientists believe this rift was created several hundred million years ago, when the North American plate be-



gan to split and molten rock from the interior welled toward the surface Though the breakup halted-for reasons as inexplicable as the original movement-a weak area remains in the form of the rift St Louis University researchers have found that as the entire North American plate moves, this area is squeezed, causing mostly horizontal movement along the

The discovery of these faults is of farreaching significance. For the first time, scientists are linking earthquakes in the New Madrid region to specific features in the earth's crust. That means they should be able to measure these movements and perhaps ultimately even forecast future large quakes Is another monster New Madrid quake likely? Seismologist Otto Nuttli of St. Louis University has no doubts. Says he: "Pressure is building up all along the fault. That's why we're having small earthquakes. The little ones are symptomatic of the stress. They are not relieving it. Everything points to something big happening in New Madrid." But when? "A moderately large earthquake." he says, "could conceivably not come for 100 or even 500 years. Or it could happen tomorrow.

If a big quake does strike soon, it will cause far more damage than its 19th century predecessor. A new study by the Midwest Research Institute in Kansas City estimates that a nighttime New Madridsized jolt during the next ten years could kill nearly 300 people, injure 27,000 others and cause damage totaling \$3.2 billion. The survey also found little concern for building earthquake-resistant structures in the region and noted that only Memphis had any quake-preparedness plans. Explains Jimmy Cravens, the mayor of New Madrid (pop. 3,029): "All of us who grew up around here have felt earthquakes. It makes good coffee-shop conversation. That's about all." Still, Cravens is covering his bets. In his antique shop he sells a popular T shirt that carries the slogan: VISIT NEW MADRID (WHILE IT'S STILL THERE).

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Law

A Clouded Conclusion in California

A probe of the state's supreme court ends with no charges

I began almost a year ago as an attempt to "Gear the air" and "Testore public confidence." When it ended last week it was apparent that an unprecedented and exercitating investigation of the California Supreme Court had not succeeded in achieving, either goal. The final report by California's commission on judicial performance briefly stated that "no form charges will be filed against any supreme court justice." It was a less than paired the replaction of a gour long considered, among the most enlightened in the nation.

The commission had set out last January to examine two questions: 91 Had the supreme court, as charged in the press, delayed the release of four politically sensitive decisions until after Election Day, 1978, in order to boost Chief Justice Rose Bird's chances for confirmation by the voters? and 21 Had any of the justices or members of their staffs, and the properties of the properties o

Bird berself had called for the investigation last Nov 24 a liberal 33-yearold activist with no prior judicial experience, she had been opposed by lawand-order conservatives and some of the legal establishment ever since her surprise appointment in 1977 by Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. By last November: under the pressure of allegations of political maneuvering by the course of decided that something had to be done to restore confidence in the state's high-

The commission entrusted with the investigation is composed of five judges appointed by the supreme court, two lawyers named by the governors of the state bar, and two lay people chosen by the Governor. In existence since 1961 to hear complaints and bring charges against wayward judges, it now found itself faced with the ultimate test, a probe of the supreme court. Under instructions from California's judicial council, the commission was required to conduct a public hearing, and it launched one last June. under the glare of television lights, after a five-month closed inquiry during which it examined documents and took depositions. For the next four weeks, five of the justices and 13 staff members presented a picture of the California Supreme Court as a place where personal pettiness and inefficiency ran rampant

According to the testimony. Bird and Justice Mathew Tobriner, both liberals, frequently had note-taking aides sit in on their conversations with conservative Jus-

ince William Clark because they did not trust him. The antagonism between Bird and Clark reached the point where the helf justice reliased to speak to either him or his clerks. More important, the testimore help the comparison of the comparison o

The public disclosures came to a halt on July 17, when a state appeals court agreed with Justice Stanley Mosk's argu-

The fuzzy conclusion leaves the court with an image problem. The Los Angeles Times reported last week that while 46% of California's voters hold a favorable view of the court. 40% regard it unfavorably. The court's reputation in the legal community has suffered less. according to U.C.L.A. Law Professor Kenneth Karst. Lawyers, he says, are swayed more by the quality of the court's decisions than by the texture of personal relationships on the bench. And quality was long a hallmark of the California court, particularly in its lucid and pioneering decisions on suspects' rights. faulty consumer products and tenants' rights.

Those who opposed the open investigation from the start have had their fears confirmed. "It was unfortunate in the first place," says Harvard Law Professor Lau-



Chief Justice Rose Bird and the California court pose for a formal portrait

Personal pettiness and inefficiency in a once revered institution.

ment that California's constitution prohibited public hearings. The commission then took the matter to the supreme court. which, despite the investigation, had been going about its business at the usual pace since November. * Six of the justices, sensing conflict of interest, stepped aside in favor of substitutes chosen by lot from the state's intermediate appellate court. The seventh, Justice Frank Newman, declined to follow suit. thus forcing the substitutes to disqualify him. That settled, the "shadow" supreme court upheld Mosk. The dispirited commission quietly concluded its hearings and issued its three-page report, in which it pointed out that the Mosk decision precluded it from going into detail

"Though not at the usual pay A century-old prodays to decide a case once it has been submitted A superior court judge found the high court out of compliance and cu oil fit by justices psychecks for September and October. The judge's order has been appealed, and arguments are set for this work. rence Tribe. "No ending would have undone the harm triggered by the proceeding itself." Others dismiss such apprehensions as casagerated. "The Judicial institution has survived some fairly bicarre judicial behavior: and I dareasy it clares to the procession of the procession of the procession of the procession of the Illinois judicial inquiry board, wrote in the October American Bar Association Journal.

Yet. others are troubled that the commission was kept from reaching a definitive judgment at the end of a costly (\$510,000) investigation. Says Commission Member Thomas Willoughby: Rather than build up confidence in the judiciarly: the report may well erode concurt would have looked better, it would have been protected against charges of a whitewash. Because we weren't able to explain our action, several questions were left open.

Medicine

Comeback for Shock Therapy?

Its unsavory reputation may be changing

The scene in which Actor Jack Nich-olson receives an electric shock treatment in the 1975 film One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest reinforced the notion that shock therapy is a cruel and barbaric anachronism. Partially as a result of the movie, the popular image of electric shock, which had been steadily fading in the U.S., grew even dimmer. Now shock treatment is regaining popularity, defend-

ed by many psychiatrists as a safe, humane and often dramatically effective method for treating some forms of mental illness, particularly

depression.

Electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) dates back to 1938, when Italian Psychiatrists Ugo Cerletti and Lucio Bini. searching for a treatment for schizophrenia, used electricity to induce convulsions in a disturbed patient. Afterward, his condition improved. In the ensuing years, ECT became a common treatment for severe psychotic illnesses, both in Europe and the U.S.

With the introduction of striking-

as chlorpromazine and imipramine in the 1950s, the popularity of shock treatment began to wane. The decline was hastened by growing worry about the safety and efficacy of ECT and by charges that it was being used excessively and indiscriminately in institutions that were little more than "shock mills." Between 1972 and 1977 in New York State, for example, use of ECT dropped by 38%. Across the nation, according to a 1978 report by the American Psychiatric Association. one-third of psychiatrists have reservations about the practice

But dropping ECT apparently leaves a gap in the psychiatric arsenal. Neither psychotherapy nor medication seems to help 20% to 30% of people with extreme depression-those who suffer excessive weight loss, insomnia, loss of sex drive and energy, or threaten or attempt suicide. Other patients, for example, the elderly or those with heart conditions, cannot tolerate the medications. Drugs also tend to act more slowly and sometimes produce unpleasant side effects, notably tardive dyskinesia, uncontrollable facial and body contortions caused by lengthy use of antipsychotics. Says Dr. Stuart Yudofsky of the New York State Psychiatric Institute: "I'm not pushing the therapy. I don't work for the electric company. But 80% of the depressions that do not respond to drugs do respond to convulsive

Proponents of ECT also point out that modern techniques are far removed from

the horror of Cuckoo's Nest. Says Yudofsky. "The only way you physically know a seizure is taking place is that sometimes you see a finger wiggling slightly." The patient is injected with a short-acting anesthetic, then a muscle relaxant to prevent the sudden muscular contractions that in the past occasionally caused fractured bones or chipped teeth. An electrocardiogram is sometimes used to mon-

ly effective antipsychotic drugs such Equipment used for electric shock tre



Doctor demonstrating ECT Only a finger wiggling slightly

itor the heart rhythm and oxygen is administered to prevent possible brain damage after the shock.

In an ECT session, electrodes are attached to one or both sides of the head. and 80 to 100 volts applied for as much as one second. That produces enough current to light a 100-watt bulb and causes a brain seizure, which can be traced on an electroencephalogram. Patients regain consciousness within minutes but may be groggy and confused for a while. Usually six to ten ECT sessions are given within a two-to-three-week period.

Despite years of experience and large nbers of patients (an estimated 100,000 people undergo treatment in the U.S. each year), no one is exactly sure how ECT works. According to one theory. the seizure affects the hypothalamus. a portion of the brain regulating production of the body's mood-controlling substances. What is known is that patients often do not recall either the treatment or any events immediately before it. But critics of ECT, even as it is practiced today. say that it can also cause permanent brain damage, including a loss of memory of events in the more distant past. Still, any evidence of longterm memory loss is conflicting and anecdotal. For example, Ernest

Hemingway was convinced that ECT ruined his writing career by wiping out his store of experiences. Marilyn Rice, a former Government economist, claims the treatments obliterated her expertise

and forced her early retirement. Critics also charge that patients some of whom are really incapable of giving informed consent-are coerced into agreement. Says Psychiatrist Lee Coleman of Berkeley, Calif.: "I've never seen a single case when valid consent was given." But some patients claim the pressure comes mostly from family and friends who urge them not to undergo treatment. Says one Los Angeles college student. 22, who failed to respond to drugs and agreed to have ECT: "The hospital patients thought I was crazy to do it." Still, to protect the patients' rights. several states have rules governing use of ECT. California's model statute calls for seconding opinions by doctors and an attorney and a 24-hour delay between the time permission is given and treatment is started.

The widespread ambivalence about the return of electroconvulsive treatment was evident at a psychiatric conference this fall in Britain. While demonstrators picketed outside the meeting carrying placards reading ECT WAS APPROVED IN BUCHENWALD and CONTROL PSYCHIA-TRY WHILE YOU STILL HAVE A MIND TO, doctors inside reported that fully half of ECT patients questioned in a survey feared the treatment less than going to the dentist.





How much energy can the nation afford to put off limits?

One third of all land in the United States, and most of the undersea continental shelf, is owned by the federal government.

Millions of acres of this land, in cluding vast areas that have great potential for energy development, have been placed off limits by the government for environmental reasons.

It is ironic that, at a time when or country is dangerously dependent on foreign oil, there are efforts to put even more federal land off limits.

It is ironic—and its unwise. The record shows that energy development and environmental protection are compatible.

For example, more fish are being caught in the Gull of Mexico today than before the Gull became the most drilled body of water in the world. And at the Aransas National Wildlife Refuge in Texas, where

Conoco has been producing oil and natural gas for 35 years, there are more rare whooping cranes than when we started.

America's land can be put to a variety of compatible uses, including the development of energy the nation badly needs.



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Milestones

MARRIED. Michael Moriarty, 38. actor (Bang the Drum Slowly, Holocaust), and Anne Hamilton Martin, 35. a publicist and sometime actress with Moriarty's Potter's Field Theater Company; he for the second time, she for the first in Manhattan.

DID. Samuel Sandrond, 88. scholar, Jecture and internationally recognized authority on the New Testament and its relation to Judaism, in Cincinnati. A Navy chaplain during World War I land the sauth or of 17 books including. We Jeen and You Christians, in which he examined the common rottes of the two religions) Sandmel, a native Ohioan, lectured on Jewish mel, antive Ohioan, lectured on Jewish joining Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, where he tuphly for 9 sees.

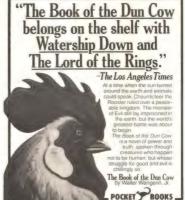
DIED. Al Capp, 70. sardonic cartoonist who gained fame and wealth with his LiT Abner comic strip; in Cambridge, Mass. (see PRESS)

DED. Edward Ardizzone, 79. children's book illustrator and author who created the popular Lettle Tim storybook series; in London. Born in Haiphong, in what was then French Indochina. but reared in lettle the transport of the story of the s

DIED. Yvonne de Gaulle, 79, widow of French President Charles de Gaulle and known throughout France as "Aunt Yvonne": in Paris. The daughter of a wealthy Calais biscuit manufacturer, she was a loyal and uncomplaining supporter of her husband's tumultuous military and political career. She joined him in exile in Britain during World War II and in 1943 courageously accompanied him to Algiers. Preferring to live in the shadow of her husband, she avoided publicity and spent much of the past decade gardening and doing charitable work in the quiet seclusion of La Boisserie. the family's country home in Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises. north of Dijon

DIED. Charles. Evens. 197, amaziera golfer who became the first man to win both the U.S. Open and the U.S. Open and the U.S. Amazier champion possible in the same year (1916) and who toured the greens with five Presidents; in Chrisago a floriner caddle, Indianapolis-Chrisago a floriner caddle, Indianapolis-Oncitive to the Chrisago and Chrisa







Economy & Business

Volcker's Pinch Begins

Soaring interest buoys the buck but starts a slide in housing



hen he boldly ! tackled the twin problems of runaway inflation at home and a hemorrhaging dollar abroad by tightening credit and raising interest rates a month ago, Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker was almost universally hailed. The road

down from 13% inflation would be long and difficult, but it was also imperative; and Volcker's policy was acclaimed as necessary. Now the costs of the descent are beginning to become evident.

Since the Federal Reserve action, the prime interest rate paid by top corporations has jumped another 2% beyond its previously record heights to reach 151/2%, and bankers believe that it may go still higher Interest rates on Government bonds have leaped above levels prevailing at the outbreak of the Civil War, when Confederate forces were encamped at Manassas, ready to march on Washington. The Dow Jones index of industrial nearly 100 points and closed last week

The Fed's draconian measures have first hit the housing industry. Last week the National Association of Home Builders called an emergency meeting in Washington to bewail the high mortgage rates The group's economist. Michael Sumichrast, darkly predicted that housing starts, which ran at a 1.9 million annual rate in September, will soon be cut in half. The soaring cost of money, he claimed. has already forced 10 million Americans to abandon temporarily plans for that dream house

The first signs of a housing decline are evident around the country. Average mortgage rates have jumped over two points since January of 1978 to 11.2%. and in California, Colorado, Indiana and other places they are 13% or 14%. Monthly payments are often no longer listed in the handy books real estate agents carry. and salesmen have been forced to use hand-held calculators to compute the numbing bill. Residential loans in Washington, D.C., have virtually halted. In the

stocks since early October has slumped | Los Angeles area, where home prices formerly rose fast and frequently, sellers have been forced to reduce \$140,000 bungalows to \$120,000 In Chicago, sales in new home projects are down 68% since

January Worse than the high interest rates is the sheer shortage of mortgage money Usury laws in two dozen states limit interest rates to below 13% Thus many banks and savings institutions have stopped making loans because it is impossible for them to earn any profit Traditional lenders are also running short of cash because people are transferring funds from savings accounts to booming money market funds, which invest money in high-yielding securities and pay twice as much as passbook accounts Perhaps three-quarters of the savings and loan associations in Chicago have stopped mak-

Signs of recession are also multiplying Big Three auto sales last month were down a jarring 23% from a year ago, and the industry has laid off 93,600 of its 765,400 hourly workers. Executive recruiters are receiving considerably

ing mortgage deals.

fewer requests to find and hire managers

Despite the distress, Volcker's interest rate policy continues to win support from bankers, businessmen and politicians. The U.S. League of Savings Associations unanimously approved the Fed's actions. and the group's chief economist, Ken Thygerson, admits that it "was necessary to deal a lethal blow to speculation in the housing market." Ben Heineman, president of Northwest Industries calls the program a "sensible way of checking inflation." Even Senate Banking Chairman William Proxmire, normally the central bank's most vociferous critic, endorses the program, saying it has had an important "psychological effect." The battle against inflation finally seems serious.

Volcker's policy continues to earn raves abroad. The dollar's decline, which had precipitated the action, has been at least temporarily checked. Despite nervousness in world financial markets caused by events in Iran, the dollar has been strong for the past month. Typically, one Frankfurt banker says with a sigh of relief: "For the first time I can confidently see a stable rate for the dollar. Silver, platinum and copper markets, which had soared like comets in early October, have returned to some calm.



But as Volckerism continues to drive up the cost of money and tighten credit much further, the cheering will increasingly be mixed with catcalls. House Majority Leader Jim Wright of Texas is already bitterly denouncing the Federal Reserve for "pouring gasoline on a fire in a misguided effort to put it out." He argues that high interest itself is a cause of inflation because it increases the cost of buying a new home or constructing a new plant. Builders Union President Robert Georgine warned that President Carter's pledge to his workers to "not fight inflation with your jobs" would be recalled. perhaps vengefully, by blue-collar voters in next year's primaries. Carter's chief economic adviser Charles Schultze and Treasury Secretary G. William Miller began privately hinting that they had worries about the intensity of the Volcker program, and former Fed Chairman Miller made a gratuitous dig at his successor "Had I stayed at the Fed, my timing would have been different.

Breaking the inflationary psychology after 15 years of ever higher prices will be a titanic task. The American consumer has developed the attitude of "buy now before it's higher," as new figures showed again last week. Consumer installment

But Holding High on Flats

While the market for houses is slumping, sales of con-dominiums and cooperative apartments are holding up better. They account for only 2.3% of all U.S. housing, but in recent years they have become the hottest properties in residential real estate, and supertight money seems unlikely to put more than a temporary brake on demand.

The attraction of co-ops and condos is simple: they offer the tax and investment advantages of home ownership, but usually for less money. Their appeal is strong among retired people squeezed by rising rents, young married couples and middle-income suburbanites stunned by fuel costs. "Going condo or co-op" has become a buzz phrase in real estate, as San Francisco apartment buildings, Florida motels, and even a renovated Brooklyn church and a convent have become

condominium or co-op flats In the case of co-ops, a buyer acquires stock in the cornoration that owns the building in which he occupies an apartment. A condo dweller holds legal title to the apartment itself. All mortgage interest payments are fully tax deductible, as are local real estate

taxes on the property Money to buy condos or co-ops is becoming costlier and harder to find, of course, but the impact of the squeeze has so far been modest. In Chicago, the Baird & Warner real estate firm reckons that October condo sales were 6% ahead of the same month last year, but prices have eased from an average of \$93.000 in 1978 to about \$85,000 today. In New York City. both demand and prices remain

high, and luxury four-room apartments are selling for an average of \$160,000, vs. \$100,000 a year ago.

One reason for New York's continuing co-op strength is the presence of moneyed buyers, including many foreigners, who do not need or care to bare their finances to banks; nearly two-thirds of the city's co-op purchases are all-cash deals. Elsewhere, bankers and brokers are devising ways to ease the credit pinch on buyers. Some California brokers arrange deals whereby the seller acts as his own bank; he agrees to turn over his condo to a buyer in return for a socalled trust deed, which requires monthly payments directly from the buyer

The first signs of a "wait and see" attitude are appearing among some buyers who think that mortgage rates may soon ease back. Michigan Entrepreneur Warren Avis, founder of the Avis Rent A Car system, was quickly filling a 120-unit condo conversion in Detroit last month, but saw many of his customers van-

ish as mortgages rocketed. Says he: "All of a sudden we got slugged in the guts. The last four weeks have broken the back of buying. Ninety percent of those who dropped out did so because they can no longer afford or even qualify for mortgages."

For all that, most shoppers still echo Estelle Wollman, 70, who plans to close a deal on a Sunrise. Fla., condo not far from Fort Lauderdale: "I can't worry about interest rates now. Where am I going to go? I don't want to live in a rental any more, with its \$50-a-month increase every year." Over the long term, it seems that demand-and prices-for condos and co-ops will be stronger than for housing in



Economy & Business

debt exploded by a record \$4.5 billion during September to a total of \$303.9 billion. The lemming-like rush of consumers into debt could force the Federal Reserve to push interest rates still higher or perhaps to begin limiting the amount of credit

The inflation outlook offers no reason for the Fed to pull back. Last week Carter's anti-inflation czar, Alfred Kahn, admitted that his earlier hopes for the nation to be out of double-digit inflation by next spring have been eliminated by increases in oil prices and mortgage rates. Kahn argued that inflation will not be brought under control so long as OPEC continues raising the cost of crude and the U.S. remains dependent on foreign oil. As a means of lessening that reliance, he said, the Administration had been con-

sidering a 50c per gal. gasoline tax and even gasoline rationing

The nation's inflation, deeply ingrained and long neglected, cannot be fought by money policy alone, though that is a necessary ingredient. Tough fiscal and energy policies are also necessary. In sum, the nation needs a combination of taut reins on credit, restrained federal spending and increased freedom from Middle East oil. Nothing short of all three can end years of price explosions and energy profligacy, which are threatening the structure of American society. Author Theodore White has called inflation "the hidden threat disorganized government always holds over those who try to plan, to save, to be prudent." Volcker's painful policy is an attempt to remove that threat

DeLorean: They were "not i Tales of the

Trader's Cry: "This Market Stinks"

Wall Street's bond market traditionally has been the haven for little old la-dies with poodies. Unlike the frantic gold or stock exchanges, the "fixed income market" was as relaxed as a Norman Rockwell painting. On a normal day, prices might change one-sixteenth of a point.

No more. Since the Federal Reserve constricted money, bond trading has been more Jackson Pollock than Rockwell. Says Merrill Lynch Vice President Peter Goldsmith: "This has been the worst period the bond markets have ever

Prices gyrate two or three points between lunch and cocktails. When interest rates rise, bond prices fall-and often sharply. That is because securities sold ear-In just a few hours last month, the price of 30-year Government bonds fell two points-from 91% of face value to 89%-and bond dealers lost \$20,000 on a round lot \$1 million purchase of the issue. In this environment, corporations or the Government are forced to raise interest rates still higher to attract new customers. Since the beginning of September, rates on the best corporate bonds have

Four New York bond trading houses have failed. One of the victims is Frederick Gorsetman, 34, who, riding along with rising bond business in August 1978. opened his own firm. But when the Fedrates, his firm had to absorb devastating ter three weeks of harried days on Wall Street and sleepless nights in his Riverside Drive apartment, Gorsetman closed his office's front door. Although he is now looking for another job on Wall Street, he says bitterly, "The market stinks.

Such tales have not been limited to small firms. Chemical Bank, which lost \$6 million in post-Volckerism bond dealing, abruptly fired its trading manager. A billion-dollar sure thing-the issuing of IBM bonds last month-turned into a pumpkin for such blue-ribbon investment bankers as Salomon Bros., which had underwritten the deal. Because of difficulties selling the IBM securities. Salomon and other traders had to swallow losses of \$10 million. For the once staid bond market. it has been a fitting 50th anniversary of the Great Crash.

14th Floor A kiss-and-tell exposé of GM

cross between a fortress and a ca-A thedral, the General Motors world headquarters in Detroit is as impregnable as the corporation it houses. The company cultivates an image of efficiency and dignity, taking special care to preserve an aura of sacrosanct wisdom in its most senior executive offices on the 14th floor of the building. But an entertaining and surely controversial new book makes that aura look more like a fog as it lifts some of the confidentiality from the world's largest industrial corporation.

On a Clear Day You Can See General Motors (Wright Enterprises; \$12.95) was written by J. Patrick Wright, former Detroit bureau chief of Business Week. But by all accounts it is drawn from the words of John Z. (for Zachary) DeLorean, a 17year GM veteran who abruptly quit a \$650,000-a-year job as group executive for cars and trucks in 1973, DeLorean, now 54, had a good shot at the GM presidency. But apparently his fast life, long hair and penchant for marrying young women (thrice) and divorcing them (twice) did not fit the GM mold.

He and Wright agreed to co-author the book shortly after DeLorean left. Wright interviewed the executive at length, got DeLorean's personal papers and says that "anything of a substantive or controversial nature is either on tape or appears in John's handwritten notes. It's airtight." But DeLorean backed out of the project; he has started an auto plant in Northern Ireland and may want GM's help in securing parts and dealers. After







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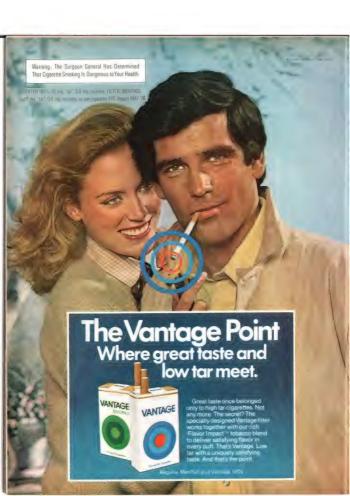


THE THE PARTY OF T

PLAYBACK

BARRETTS

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Economy & Business

years of frustration. Wright took out a \$50,000 second mortgage on his house and published the book himself. The work is presented as DeLorean's first-person account, and he now says that he generally would not repudiate it.

DeLorean's kiss-and-tell story of GM in the '60s and '70s depicts senior GM executives as men hemmed in by tradition. swamped in paper work, and totally in thrall to their company careers

Invention and flair, he charges, have disappeared from GM, which "has not had a significant technical innovation since the automatic transmission.

The path to the top, he asserts, required a cultivated subservience. He says, "It was called 'kiss-my-assing' when it was done by a supplier to a customer, and 'loyalty' when it was done inside GM.

According to the book, high managers were directed from above to give contributions to the company's political campaign fund in assigned amounts up to \$3,000. The checks were made out to cash. Ranking executives made every effort to have their meal checks and other expenses picked up by obsequious subordinates so that if shareholders' inquired at the annual meeting, the brass could boast of modest expense accounts. Spying on a competitor was not unknown. DeLorean alleges that in the early 1960s. Chevrolet had two moles working in Ford's product-planning area. "For a price," he says, they "passed on new product information.

"The excessive emphasis on cost cutting," he recalls, "produced an aberrant method of evaluating performance. At one time the assembly plant in Tarrytown. N.Y., year in and year out produced the poorest quality cars of all 22 GM U.S. assembly plants. In some instances, Tarrytown cars were so poorly built the dealers refused to accept them." Yet because of consistently low production costs, De-Lorean contends, the plant manager got one of the highest bonuses among all GM

In the most serious charge, DeLorean contends that GM knew about the safety problems of the Chevrolet Corvair before production began and failed to remedy them. Claims DeLorean: "Charlie Chayne, vice president of engineering, along with his staff, took a very strong stand against the Corvair as an unsafe car long before it went on sale in 1959. He was not listened to but instead told 'You're not a member of in effect: the team. Shut up or go looking for another job.

DeLorean says he feels that the decision makers were "not immoral men. But, he adds in Wright's book, "these same men in a business atmosphere. where everything is reduced to costs, profit goals and production deadlines, were able as a group to approve a product that most of them would not have considered approving as individuals."

Oil: The Blackmail Market

OPEC's customers get an on-the-spot petro-mugging

n response to the hostage trauma in Iran, the price of oil is poised for yet more damaging leaps upward

The focus of the trouble is the jumpy and uncontrolled spot market, that loose network of brokers and hustlers who buy and sell available crude wherever they can for whatever the market will bear, OPEC sells most of its oil under contracts that can run from a month to a year or more, but cartel leaders watch the day-to-day spot market closely: when spot quotes climb, insatiable oil producers begin de-

manding more for their shipments. Early last week typical spot prices for were being cut by approximately 5% NIOC blamed "operational difficulties." but many oilmen suspected that the missing petroleum would soon enough turn up for sale on the spot market. Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia was hinting strongly that

early next year it will cut as much as I million bbl. a day from its production of 9.5 million bbl., and Kuwait and Nigeria were also considering reductions. These moves will keep supplies scarce and prices high

The spot market chaos will fuel demands for a big new surge in official OPEC prices when the cartel meets in Ca-



Persian Gulf crude stood at \$37 to \$38 per bbl., vs. OPEC's official maximum of \$23.50. After the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, rumors swirled that anti-American fanatics were shutting the tap on exports. Spot traders began desperately scrambling to buy spare cargoes. In Rotterdam, prices ticked up almost by the hour. In New York City, some sellers were demanding an astronomical \$47 to \$48 per bbl. Though heating oil is retailing in New York at about 85¢ per gal., spot market imports of the fuel were going for \$1.10 per gal., while gasoline imports were trading at \$1.20 to \$1.25 per gal

The confusion was an invitation for price gouging. The National Iranian Oil Co. (NIOC) demanded \$50 per bbl. for some oil it put on the spot market and threatened that if its regular customers did not pay the price. NIOC would refuse to renew its supply contracts when they expire in December. Exxon. Shell and British Petroleum got telex notification from NIOC that their anticipated deliveries for the last three months of 1979 racas on Dec. 17. Already Algeria and Libya have pushed their prices beyond the ceilings set by OPEC in June, and last week Nigeria jumped to \$26.27 per bbl. Oil executives now gloomily forecast that the official OPEC ceiling could soon reach \$28 to \$30 per bbl., raising the U.S energy import bill from some \$65 billion this year to as much as \$90 billion next year.

There is no way to reduce the crushing costs except to burn much more coal. continue with nuclear power, speed the development of synthetics and solar, move to mandatory conservation, and, of course, drill for more domestic oil. Last week, overriding objections of environmentalists, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to halt an Interior Department auction of leases to explore for oil on the Georges Bank off Massachusetts. Environmentalists fear that a spill or blowout could harm the rich fishing waters, but the court decision was yet another sign that the U.S will have to make difficult compromises to secure energy

Economy & Business

AMC's Charge

No longer the sickly child

President W. Paul Tippett Jr. of American Motors Corp. used to Joke that his company sectually had a three-word name: "Alling American Motors." Now Tippett and his colleagues are laughing for a different reason. AMC has pulled back from the brink yet again, chiefly by cutting its work force. consolidating its plants and concentrating on a few small

Last week. like proud parents of a sickly shild who suddenly won the ban-tam championship. AMC announced that profits more than doubled, to a record \$83.9 million on sales of \$3.1 billion for the fiscal year ended in September True, earnings declined in the industry's dismal last quarter, but they were obtained to the same of th

the industry as a whole.

AMC has rested its surrival strategy on what Chairman Gerald Meyers calls a "three-legged stool" of small cars, Jeeps and standy Government contracts for potal weithelds and military tactical management of the second stand of the second stand of the second stand of the second stand stand stood of the second standard standard

by putting a Concord compact body on a four-wheel Jeep-like drive train, the company has produced a new car that gets about 16 m.g. and sells for some \$7,000. Name the Eagle 1t rides easily, to stop quickly to lor yreads, and is designed for decions firemen, people of the other of the control of the contr

The best future asset is the forthcoming liaison with France's rich dowager.
Renault, which will eventually own 22.5%
of American Motors stock. Renault's miniand drawing customers to some of American Motors' own models. Automakers
will survive in the future, says Meyers, if
they sharply focus their markets and hook
up with international partners. Those that
outly use Subset of the Subset

AMC's hot-selling four-wheel-drive Eas



Executive View/Marshall Loeb

Women Shake the Work Force

arina Whitman, the newly appointed chief economist of General Motors, claims that she can almost cite the fateful day when the men who run New York City's banks declared. "OK, Ellas, we've got to let them in." Them are American women, and it was only half a dozen years ago that they began to be admitted, thitle by little, to the executive establishment. Whitman knows because when she meets groups of bankers, she sees more and more women justice executives, posicion for that big lead up to to higher management. But almost all are

age 32 or 33 or younger—and practically none are older.

Throughout corporate America, male managers are awaking to the reality

Throughout corporate America. male managers are awaking to the reality that women are rising all around them—challenging them, changing the rider panies and generally shaking things up. Men at the very top are pressing this reduction. Even in the most encaused industries, or the property of the reduction of the property of the reduction of the

For all the publicity surrounding this significant social development, several essential points probably deserve more emphasis. For instance:

The rise of young women executives will fairly soon accelerate. In U.S. graduate schools of business, one in five students working toward an M.B.A. degree is a woman. The percentage is larger in the elite universities. The share of women M.B.A. recipients in last spring's graduating classes was Stanford 24%. Darnwouth 25%, Whaton 26%, M.I.T. 28%, Northwestern 30%, Columbia 33%.



And the percentage is growing. In the incoming first-year classes this autumn the share was 38% at Yale and 44% at New York University.

Ever more important is the rapid growth of women in the blue-collar force. Over three-fifths of all U.S. women aged 20 to 64 hold jobs and are tremendously affecting the current economy. One example: productivity is flat, in some part because many women are holding first-time jobs and are not so well trained as

men. But as the newcomers gain experience, productivity will rise. Policymulars are radially changing their wires about nemployment. Even tiberal economists no longer consider "full employment" to be a 4% rate of unemployment, but a 55% rate. That means, compared with the past, the U.S. is prepared to accept 1.5 million more Americans out of work before Washington Dolicymakers start pumping up the economy in an inflationary way to fight unemployment. A higher level of joblessness is tolerable today because so many more people are at work, and thus, if one family member loses his or her job, there is a better than 50% chance that another family member is collecting a pay-check and can take up the slack. This is a reason why the Federal Reserve

Board felt prepared a month ago to put on extremely tight credit clamps, risking a jump in unemployment just as a recession appeared to be developing. Future recessions will be milder and briefer than they otherwise would have been. Even in hard times, the family's spending power will not collage. If Doad is faild off. Mom will bring home the bread and bacon, although she still carns less than the average man. Because of her extra psycheck, total family income now is up, even though individual real income is down. So most consumer spending rolls merrily along, delaying and delying the much heralded recessions.

From the blue-collar assembly line to the white-bloused executive arein, quite a few more changes are ahead as the women's revolution not only continues but expands. As workers, decision makers and big money spenders, women will continue to affect companies and markes in ways that can sacrotly be imagined. Most important, in an increasingly competitive world, they will significantly enhance the nation's richest asset its pool of talent.

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Television

A Listing Ship of Sweeps

The French Atlantic Affair, Nov. 15, 16, 18, ABC, 9 p.m. E.S.T.

S o far the 1979-80 network TV season has been marked by a surprisingly close ratings race, the absence of a new hit series and the inability of Charlie's latest Angel to recite dialogue. In November, the doldrums come to an end. This is sweeps month, when the networks play the Nielsen game for keeps. Suddenly the air waves are flooded with heavy-ticket movies: Dog Day Afternoon, The Omen. Oh. God! Hit shows, from Dallas to Little House on the Prairie, offer expanded episodes; flops go into temporary or permanent hibernation. The competitive fallout can be severe. On the sweeps' first Sunday night, Nov. 4, NBC's MacArthur (Part 2) was beaten almost 4 to 1 by ABC's Jaws. In TV terms, MacArthur did not

just fade away-it died. For ABC, this November's ratings war is crucial. Many of the No. 1 network's hits have suffered erosion this season, and the time has come to recoup. To this end, ABC is betting on an ambitiously sleazy collection of made-for-TV movies. Leading the pack is a six-hour mini-series, The French Atlantic Affair, which will have to face such competition as A Bridge Too Far (NBC) and Silver Streak (CBS). ABC just may win. Its mini-series aims so low that it does not even qualify as popcorn entertainment: the show is best watched while chewing sugarless gum

Ostensibly a thriller, The French Atlantic Affair poses a hypothetical question that only a TV producer could concoct: What would happen if Jim Jones hijacked the Love Boat? The villain of the show is Father Dunleavy, whose fanatical cult takes over the transatlantic luxury liner

Festivale and holds its passengers hostage for \$70 million in ransom. Like Jones. Dunleavy is said to be charismatic, sexy and demonic, but ABC is too smart to cast the role with an actor who might offend a Nielsen family. Instead, Dunleavy is played by Telly Savalas, whose bland manner and leisure suits make him seem more like a Las Vegas maître d' than a sa-

The supporting players are no less tacky. The pouty Michelle Phillips, as the ship's social director, wears so many silly getups that one might think ABC is trying to trick viewers into thinking that she is Cher The blow-dried Chad Everett (Medical Center) is cast as a Pulitzer-prizewinning author who wears what appears to he a Pulitzer Prize medal on a gold chain around his neck. There are real French actors in the cast-Marie-France Pisier, Louis Jourdan-as well as ersatz Frenchmen like James Coco. Brooklynese is provided by Shelley Winters, who seems to have a habit of booking passage on doomed ships.

What holds one's interest in The French Atlantic Affair is the exuberant fraudulence of its every frame. Locations as far apart as Paris and Taos appear to be in the same time zone. The Festivale, though described as "very chic, very in, very high style," looks like a floating Ramada Inn. The script is a graveyard of unintentional boners. In one particularly cross moment, Savalas snarls, "Am I a fool? Do you think I talk just to hear my head rattle?" In this sweeps extravaganza, such questions are invariably -and giddily-rhetorical. - Frank Rich



Thomas and Borgnine in Western Front in mood, feeling and physical trappings.

"Iron youth becomes iron heroes.

More surprising still, considering that it will be shown opposite such fluff as Charlie's Angels, is the harrowing portrayal of life and death in the trenches. CBS deserves praise for showing it, particularly during a sweeps week, and it seems almost harsh to add that the result, though often good, does not measure up to that primitive Lew Ayres talkie of nearly half a century ago

Though Remarque came to the plot early, his scenario is now familiar from too many other war movies: a group of boys go from school to training camp to the front lines, becoming men only to die. "You are our iron youth," their high school instructor (Donald Pleasence) tells them, with proper Germanic pride. "Iron youth be-comes iron heroes." They are sent to the Western Front, where they find that iron. like everything else, quickly disintegrates in the trenches. A veteran, Katczinsky (Ernest Borgnine), teaches them the two essentials of staying alive-stealing food and killing Frenchies. Never use a bayonet, he says; while you are pulling it out of a man's stomach, his comrade will get you. A shovel, on the other hand, can take your enemy's head off in one quick motion. leaving you free to defend yourself. The veteran and Paul Baumer, the youthful narrator (Richard Thomas), grow together, like father and son; but in the end none of Katezinsky's advice can save either himself or the doomed class of 1916

The production is often strikingly effective, and Paul Monash has written a script that conveys pity without mawkishness. What either he or Director Delbert Mann, who has chosen a flat, documentary style, has not managed to evoke, however, is the passion of Remarque's book or the intensity of that creaky but wonderful 1930 movie. This All Quiet is so dutifully, ploddingly good. indeed, that it might almost be shown on PRS - Gerald Clarke



All Quiet on the Western Front. Nov. 14. CBS. 8 p.m. E.S.T.

t has been followed by wars, revolutions. but World War I is the original horror of the 20th century, from which most of the others have sprung. Though the armistice was signed 61 years ago this week, the memory of what used to be called the Great War remains forever embedded in Western consciousness. It is just as well that it is, and fitting too that to mark that grim anniversary CBS will present a new version of Erich Maria Remarque's classic antiwar novel. All Quiet on the Western Front

Shot in Czechoslovakia last summer, this three-hour film is remarkably exact



Phillips in The French Atlantic Affair "Very chic, very in, very high style

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Music

A "Coming Back" for Birgit

After four years, a great Wagnerian soprano soars again

longer whup ail comers. But the news from the Metropolitan Opera is that the voice of Sweden's Birgit Nilsson, 61, is remarkably intact. Some things in this world can still be counted on

Nilsson, the world's reigning Wagnerian soprano, had not been heard in the U.S. since 1975. At that time the Internal Revenue Service presented her with a bouquet of claims for back taxes total-



Nilsson singing at Met gala benefit Cheers, a roar and w Ho-vo-to-ho!

ing a reported \$500,000. While contesting the claims. Nilsson performed only in other countries, leaving behind her lawyers and her legend. This year a settlement was arrived at, under which she will pay the Government a percentage of her U.S. income each year. Last week, at a gala benefit concert with Music Director James Levine and the Met orchestra (ticket prices: \$25 to \$200), a near capacity audience assembled to hear how much of her brilliance she retained at an age when most singers have retired.

Without waiting for the answer, they greeted her entrance with a standing. cheering ovation that forced her to fight back tears before beginning. Perhaps as a result, her opening Dich, teure Halle from Wagner's Tannhäuser was slightly strained. But in Brünnhilde's immolation

The dollar is down. The mails have scene from Götterdämmerung, her chargrown erratic. Muhammad Ali can no metallic edge and a peculiar "white" timbre in the upper reaches-rang out with soaring power. What she lost through occasionally deliberate phrasing and careful approaches to top notes, she made up in dramatic shading and rapt emotion. After she poured out the final scene of Strauss's Salome, then tossed off an exuberant encore of Brünnhilde's Ho-voto-ho! from Die Walkfire, the response rose beyond shouts of "Brava!" to a sustained, cathartic roar, almost elemental in its ferocity.

They were even louder than the South Americans," said a relieved Nilsson the following day, relaxing in an apartment borrowed from Tenor Placido Domingo. "Memories often turn sweeter over the years. I was nervous that for the public my coming back might be a letting down." Between congratulatory phone calls and visitors, she was preparing for further comings back: a recital in Pasadena, Calif., concerts in San Francisco and Seattle. In February she will be back at the Met in Strauss's Flektra

When asked whether she still per-forms all her old roles, especially the grueling Brünnhildes in the Ring cycle, Nilsson looked as if she had been asked whether she still puts on her own shoes. Said she: "The only one I haven't done lately is Isolde, but that's mostly because there are no tenors around to sing Tristan." She did not know the secret of her durability, nor did she seem to want to know. "Nature," she shrugged. She would have no truck with regimens for preserving her voice: "Between performances I forget I'm a singer. Some singers can't do that. Always they are going hmmm-hmmm with their voice-they drive me crazy

Not only did she not cut her repertory during her years away from the U.S. she has added a new role: the Dyer's Wife in Strauss's Die Frau Ohne Schatten ("At last, a simple human being with everyday problems, after always being a goddess or running around with somebody's cut-off head"). She will sing it for the first time in the U.S next fall, with the San Francisco Opera. After that? Her one concession to the advancing years is that she is reluctant to make commitments very far ahead "When managers ask me, I say I'd like to do such and such, provided I still have a voice," she says. "After all. I don't want to go on forever, Considering the way she is going on now. that may come as a surprise in some quarters. - Christopher Porterfield

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Sport

The Redemption of Fouts

After six hellish years, a cool arm burns up the heavens

H e stood at a Hertz coun-ter in Eugene. Ore.. waiting to rent a car. The man who broke Norm Van Brocklin's records at the University of Oregon, who only two days earlier had set a National Football League record by passing for 300-plus yds. in four consecutive games, had to cool his heels while a clerk called the San Diego Chargers to determine if Daniel Francis Fouts was indeed one of their employees

The answer, as shellshocked defenders throughout the league can attest. was an emphatic yes. And if he is not as well known at the carrental counter as O.J. Simpson, on the football field, bird-legged, blackbearded Dan Fouts (as in shouts) has become as potent an offensive weanon as the airport baggage hurdler was in his prime. In just 10 games, Fouts has passed for a league-leading 2,479 yds., and his 63.2% completion percentage puts him first among the N.F.L.'s 28 starting quarterbacks. On his strong arm, the Chargers climbed to a tie with Denver in the American Football Conference's Western Division, with a record of 7 wins and 3 losses, and have a good chance of making the play-offs for the first time since the A.F.L./N.F.L. merger

The son of Bob Fouts, former announcer for the San Francisco 49ers. young Dan almost literally grew up ball boy. He tossed footballs with A "tree" grows in San Diego. John Brodie, Billy Kilmer and Y.A. Tittle When Dan signed up for a local

Pop Warner team at ten, he wanted to be a receiver. His father quickly vetoed that idea, insisting he play quarterback. The son does not regret that Foutsian bargain: "If he hadn't. I'd be wearing a white belt, white shoes and selling real estate today.

San Francisco's St. Ignatius High At San Flancisco of School School Fouts was overshadowed by a rival quarterback from another school who had the happy duty of throwing to # receiver named Lynn Swann, who has also managed to avoid the real estate business. During his senior year. Fouts was recruited by just one Pacific Eight (now Pacific Ten) team, the University of Oregon. The rest of the conference lived to regret its lack of ardor: Fouts set 19 school offensive records while passing for a threeyear total of 5,995 yds. and 37 touchdowns. Picked on the third round by San Diego, he settled in at the feet of Johnny Unitas, then 40, who was finishing his football career. "I went to him for advice and for a shoulder to cry on," Fouts says of Unitas. 'I tried to emulate him.

Fouts took over from his dead-armed and ineffective

hero in the fourth game of his rookie season, and went on to endure six chaotic years as the best target on

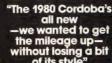
on the sidelines, serving the team as Dan directs his receivers, drops back, throws

one of pro football's worst teams. The Chargers ran through six offensive coordinators in seven seasons, and shed head coaches almost as frequently. With the arrival of former St. Louis Cardinals Head Coach Don Corvell in 1978. Fouts took off like one of his own passes. Coryell installed a sophisticated passing offense, a "tree" system that sends swarms of receivers downfield to move across predetermined "branches." The system has no hierarchy of primary and secondary receivers; rather, the quarterback is expected to study defensive reaction, sweep the "tree" with his eyes in a clockwise motion and determine which pass catcher is open. Coryell's tactics demand an eagle's vision and a lion's courage, to wait for the open man while defenders thunder in for the kill. Corvell says of Fouts: "Dan has great peripheral vision." Adds Offensive Coordinator Joe Gibbs: "He's completely oblivious to the rush. He stands there with composure and concentration, with all those guys in front of him hittin' and gruntin

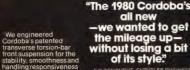
Fouts has become the game's most versatile passer. Throwing to Running Backs Lydell Mitchell and Clarence Williams, he lofts a soft pass over the fingertips of onrushing linemen. He can drill the ball to Tight End Bob Klein through a microscopic seam in the secondary. Wide Receivers John Jefferson, who set a rookie record last season with 1.001 yds. gained on 56 receptions, and Charlie Joiner benefit from Fouts' good timing and light touch to catch enough passes to rank among the top five receivers in the A.F.C. this year. "He throws a ball that's easy to catch." says Jefferson, giving him the ultimate receiver's compliment.

Fouts, who was booed nearly as often as he was sacked during the Chargers' long wallow in the cellar, credits his success to his coaches and the Chargers' current crop of receivers, the match of any in the N.F.L. San Diego's offensive line is good enough, at last, to limit Fouts' once steady pounding to a meager 13 sacks in 10 games. "I like seeing a team effort be successful, and I like to be in charge of that effort," says Fouts, who receives an estimated \$200,000 a year for his efforts. "There is nothing like a nice, long 80-yd, drive for a touchdown," Fouts continues: then, remembering six frustrating years with the Chargers, he adds: "Make that a winning touchdown





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Procession of Cardinals filling past the high altar in St. Peter's

At a working session, Cardinals listen to the Pope's opening speech

Religion

John Paul: Calling All Cardinals

The Sacred College convenes to talk of cash flow

As 120 Cardinals filed out of a mod- such burning Roman Catholic issues as ernistic hall at the Vatican last week. there stood Pope John Paul II, shaking hands, remembering everybody's name, offering a joke or a reminiscence to each prince of the church assembled. It was a disarmingly informal moment in a formal historic event. For the first time in four centuries the Sacred College of Cardinals had been specially summoned to discuss church affairs

The week's agenda did not include

celibacy and doctrinal dissent. It was a practical plea for help from the church's center to key prelates around the world. The two prime topics: how to solve a financial crisis at the Vatican; and how to improve the Byzantine operations of the Curia, the world's oldest bureaucracy, which came in for implicit criticism during last year's papal elections.

Cash flow may be the reason that John Paul called such a meeting so early

in his reign. The Vatican's tight financial secrecy has encouraged reports of fabulous financial holdings, by some accounts as high as \$2 billion. In fact, when John Paul got his first look at the Vatican books. he was apparently shocked at how little wealth there is. Like more worldly organizations, the Vatican is plagued by galloping inflation and an increasingly high overhead. The major problem is the swollen staff of more than 3,000 which John Paul inherited from Paul VI, a born bureaucrat. Hard-pressed Vatican workers (typical clerk's pay: \$150 a week) talk of forming a union. Out of charity for loyal veterans. John Paul wants to trim the payroll only through attrition. That means he needs more cash.



As the meeting ended, the Vatican is-sued a public financial communique, its first ever, revealing a 1979 budget deficil of around \$20 million. The gap has been met by "Peter's pence, the aid offering new particular to the properties of the prope

As for the Curia. the Pope asked the Cardinals for proposals to improve its efficiency and harmony visa-vis the church in various nations. Despite rumors to the contrary. John Paul plans no big shakeup in structure like that by Paul VI in 1967, and he has kept incumbent officials in place. The secrecy of last week's meeting made it unclear what reforms the Cardinals proposed. Even so, the assembly Pape from Poland intends to change the way the Vatican does business.

ast week's "plenary meeting" in fact restored an ancient practice. Under Pope Leo IV (847-855), Cardinals began frequent administrative sessions that grew more important in church government. Then, in 1588, Pope Sixtus V io increase his personal power and cope with a growing work load, established the various departments of the Vatican Curia. Meetings copi for papal elections and ceremonial occasions, known as "consistories," to install Cardinals and name new saints.

Some Cardinals wield personal power at the Vatican as members on the boards of various Curia offices. But a dozon or so Cardinals, all of whom live in Rome, have overwhelming influence through multiple membership on such boards. Regular gatherings of the entity of Cardinals who now live outside Rome, and provide the Pope with leverage against the Curial establishment.

The recivial of the College of Camilan rises questions about a far more recent collegial structure. He Synod of Bishops, whose delegates are elected mostly by the bishops of each nation. John Paul said last week that the Cardinals' new role will not "weaken or diminish" the synod, which he has already called to meet next fall. He indicated that the Cardinals' meetings will treat questions linked with the papers and provider church life.

Says one high source in the Curia:
"Paul VI paid lip service to collegiality and established the synod, but he
ceally never implemented the Second
Vatican Council's concept of consultation.
John Paul obviously intends to be the
first truly collegial Pope in modern



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FROM MERRIAM-WEBSTER

Books

The Leader of the Gang

W.H. AUDEN: THE LIFE OF A POET by Charles Osborne Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 336 pages: \$17.95

oet W.H. Auden despised invasions of privacy and public self-revelations. "Literary confessors," he once wrote, "are contemptible, like beggars who exhibit their sores for money, but not so contemptible as the public that buys their books." He argued repeatedly that a writer's private correspondence should stay that way and urged friends to destroy his letters to them. At the same time, employing his poetic license. he reveled in scandal, luxuriated in gossip, "Who," he asked BBC listeners during the 1930s, "would rather learn the facts of Augustus' imperial policy than discover that he had spots on his stomach? No

In spite of his first principle. Auden would probably have grudgingly liked this book. Biographer Charles Osborne, who knew the poet in his last years. glides easily over the surface of Auden's life. He slows down only for amusing anecdotes, witty remarks (chiefly Auden's) and occa- W.H. Auden in 1972: "I've had an exceptionally lucky life" sleeping with whom. A few of the subject's stomach spots are here, to be

sure, but Osborne makes most of them look like beauty marks. This sunny approach is largely justi-

fied by the facts. "I've had an exception-ally lucky life." Auden said some four years before his death in 1973, and indeed it seemed to be. He enjoyed those rarest experiences in English literature, a happy childhood and a pleasant public school education. At Oxford in the '20s he made some impressive lifelong friends and acolytes: Stephen Spender, Louis MacNeice, C. Day Lewis. A Cambridge graduate named Christopher Isherwood also joined what became known as the Auden Gang. The publication of Poems (1930) made Auden famous at 23.

Here was an unmistakably new and distinctive voice, conversant with Freud and Marx, sharply rhythmic and harshly prophetic: "Seekers after happiness, all who follow/ The convolutions of your simple wish. It is later than you think

Since he had no money of his own. Auden simply let his pen for hire, and it was one of the fastest in the West. His poetry continued to flow, but so did documentary scripts, radio plays, librettos. travel books, speeches, essays. Cyril Connolly marveled: "It is as if he worked under the influence of some mysterious drug, which gives him a private vision, a mastery of form, and of vocabulary,



sional but discreet lists of who was Believing the dark demons could be hedged in by civility

Excerpt

Auden now began to give readings of his poems at universities and colleges. He was one of the first poets to do so on a regular ... basis, and could fairly be said to have played his part in bringing into existence that traveling circuit which gave employment to so many poets, British and American, during the fifties and the sixties. He also made it known that he was available to lecture, provided that the fee was right. The lecture he gave at Harvard in 1947 on Don Quixote as part of a series commemorating the quatercentenary of the birth of Cervantes is still talked of, for he had consumed a few too many Martinis before lecturing, began by apologizing for his new set of dentures, and then launched upon Don Quixote by admitting that he'd never managed to read that novel through to the end, and doubting whether anyone in his audience had. When the noise of ruffling academic feathers had subsided, some years later Harvard offered Auden an impressive sum for a series of lectures.

Although he charted the symptoms of the Age of Anxiety. Auden never seemed to have more than a mild case. His loss of faith in the Anglicanism of his childhood. his later disillusionment with Commu-

nism, his conversion back to Christianity were accomplished with no public hand wringing and left no visible scars. His emigration to the U.S. in 1939 raised charges that he had cravenly abandoned England's sinking ship: he stoically endured the abuse.

imilarly, the discovery of his S homosexuality was apparently less than traumatic. He gave prudent but liberal rein to his preference, fortunate that his famous presence was sure to attract admiring or ambitious young men. His habits even left him free to perform a good deed: he married Thomas Mann's daughter Erika in order to get her out of Nazi Germany and safely under the protection of British citizenship. Auden later enlisted E.M. Forster in a campaign to persuade other homosexuals to perform such

Still, signs of inner strain were

there: the chain-smoking, the use of drugs to get going in the morning and to stop at night, the increasingly heavy drinking. His remarkable face became a relief map of a ravaged land: Auden said he looked "like a wedding cake left out in the rain." Osborne does not flinch from presenting such evidence, but neither does he seem to know what to do with it: "On the Atlantic crossing back to England, he was uncharacteristically miserable, and on one occasion burst into tears, confessing to Isherwood that he could never find anyone to love him and that he believed himself to

be a sexual failure. Arriving in London

on 17 July, they went that evening to the

Auden's shipboard squall may have been uncharacteristic, but it should clearly be given more biographical weight than his social calendar. Yet Auden's reticence about himself may hamper all potential biographers. To his lasting credit, he believed that the dark demons could be hedged in by civility, and he acted on this belief: "A suffering, a weakness, which cannot be expressed as an aphorism should not be mentioned." His love poem "Lullaby" is beautiful and moving precisely because of its reasoned equivocations, its rational tethers on emotion:

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Books

Proves the child ephemeral: But in my arms till break of day Let the living creature lie, Mortal, guilty, but to me The entirely beautiful.

"You were silly like us." Auden wrote of Irish Poet William Butler Yeats, but the truth is that Yeats was sillier, more willing to appear foolish and embrace mumbo jumbo in service to his art. Auden's way was very different, circumspect, his poetry achieved greatness but never reached

out for Yeatsian grandeur. He wrote "The image of myself which I try to create in my own mind in order that I may love myself is very different from the imaage which I try to create in the minds of others in order that they may love me." Obstorne captures the second image but not the first; the poses are here, but the model remains mysterious. — Paul Gay. — Paul Gay.

God's Novel

OLD LOVE by Isaac Bashevis Singer Farrar, Straus & Giroux 273 pages; \$10.95

ast year the Swedish Academy had difficulty qualifying the works of the Nobel laureate for literature. Isaac Bashevis Singer's "apparently inexhaustible psychological fantasy," it wrote hesitantly, "has created a microcosm, or rather a well-populated microchaos."

In his 30th book. Singer corrects the citation. His fantasy is definitively inexhaustible. As for the microchaos, it is neither micro nor chaotic. It is as large and mysteriously ordered as the universe he ponders or the Polish village and villagers he knows by heart. No one familiar with Singer could fail to recognize his songs. Here again are the doomed Jews of the shelt and the voluble retirees of Miami's



Isaac Bashevis Singer
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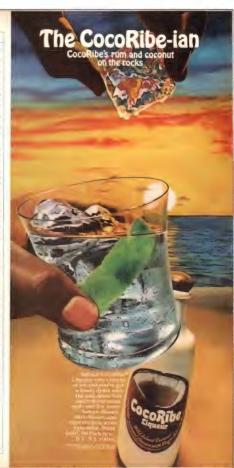
demons who can possess even the inno-

Yet there is a difference These I Basic is a reinformed with a barra pareptansion of age "Literature has neglected the
old and their emotions." Singer concludes
"The novelists never told us that in low,
as in other matters, the young are just begamers and that the art of loving matures
with age and experience." Singer is not referring to the warmth of the family or the
affection of the blessed for those less fortunate. He is talking about sex. Well he
multion of passion or of his celebrated
capacity for fusing the cross with the
grotesque.

In South America, the ubiquitous narrator makes love to a madwoman while slapping ferociously at mosquitoes "whose blood had been our blood only an instant before." One night in Israel, he hides naked on an apartment-house roof, like a character in a French farce, as a jealous husband prowls below. When he falls asleep he finds himself in a graveyard. playing with children long dead. In thirdperson tales, a homosexual's latent yearning for a woman leads to two murders and a suicide. In others, a rabbi contends with imps, demons, dybbuks and harpies; a woman sins with a fish and her child grows scales and fins; a eunuch tells of the daughters of Lilith who "fly around at night like bats and tempt men to commit abominations.

Singer has never had greater command of his material. At times he is the Jewish Somerset Maugham. spinning yarns of jealousy and violence with the detached tone of a narrator who just happened to be on the scene when the gun went off. At other instances he is a Kafkaesque master of the parable. At still others he is as comic and trenchant as Saul Bellow: a pretentious artist declares. "I must create. This is a physical need with me." A writer who consents to meet with a wealthy vulgarian is enticed with promises: "In the other world, a huge portion of the leviathan and a Platonic affair with Sarah, daughter of Tovim. On this lousy planet, he's liable to sell you a condominium at half price

If the new and the youthful are excluded from Old Love, it is because the author knows that through his wrinkled courtiers and faded coquettes he can show the entire range of human suffering and enlightenment, from birth to the grave and, sometimes, beyond. If the tales sometimes seem melodramatic, too filled with coincidence or emotional trauma. well, so is the world they reflect. To Isaac Bashevis Singer, that arena is yet another story, a narrative he calls "God's novel." Its plot, he says, may be "inconsistent, sensational, antisocial, cryptic, decadent, vulgar." But, he admits, it "has suspense. One keeps reading it day and night." God knows, one could say the same of Singer's work - Stefan Kanfer



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Books

Archaeology of The Well Born

MARQUAND: AN AMERICAN LIFE by Millicent Bell Atlantic-Little, Brown; 537 pages; \$17.95

Novelist John Phillips Marquand died only two decades ago, but social realities and the American literary scene have changed so throughly that Millicent Bell's thoughtful biography has become a work of archaeology. Marquand was a master of the literary flashback, now a master of the change the state of the company of th

moters and multinational executives.

He came from a family of decayed



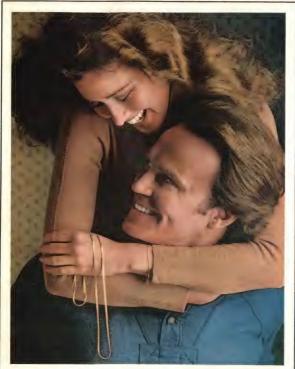
John P. Marquand

Posing as an unenlightened middlebrow

gentry whose life centered on a summer home in Newburyport, Mass. His father was a charming scapegrace, only occasionally employed. When Marquand entered Harvard in 1911, it was on a scholarship, although he was an indifferent scholar. He was a public high school boy. ignored by the "St. Grottlesex" preppies The humiliation stung him, and it seems no accident that when he married, into the wealthy and socially prominent Sedgwick family of Stockbridge, Mass., he found much to resent among his in-laws. His second wife came from a similar background, and neither marriage was successful. By the time Marquand wrote The Late George Apley and H.M. Pulham, Esquire, he had earned his wry attitude toward the well born

Like John O'Hara, he was to yearn vainly for high literary honors (though he won a Pulitzer for Apley). But to some extent he was realistic about his gifts and limitations. Early on. Marquand discovered that he had a knack for writing Saturday Evening Post stories. These

TIME, NOVEMBER 19, 1979



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Backgammoned. The white piece on the black home board is the cliue. Gammoned? Blacks all off: whites allion, but out ill blacks home board. (A backgammon also trotals the ball. Townhing a poss. Soupher to pockets).

Books

he tailored to the requirements of Edtor George Horsea Loriner, grafting on happy endings when needed and making sure that there was plenty to be giff interest. He stayed clear of the litterary world and regarded himself simply as an entertainer. When he encountered riccial smobbery, as he began to break free. He had been to be the second property of the second property of the property of the second property of the property of the second property of

arquand's self-deprecation seems only partly justified. If he had written nothing but his half a dozen best books, and none of his Post stories, he might have been spared a few swipes from reviewers, but his reputation now would not be much different, and his estate would have been far smaller. He wrote one superb and unimprovable book, Apley, several good ones (So Little Time, Point of No Return) and quite a few that were glib, unimportant, and exceedingly popular. He never had to teach freshman English or write book reviews, and he lived where he pleased. When he was middle-aged and famous, the Book-of-the-Month Club appointed him to its panel of judges, and that seems to have been exactly where he belonged. - John Skow

Best Sellers

FICTION

- 1. The Establishment, Fast (I last week)
- 2. Jailbird, Vonnegut (3) 3. Triple, Follett (4)
- The Dead Zone, King (2)
 The Last Enchantment.
- 6 Sophie's Choice, Styron (5)
 7 The Green Ripper.
- Mac Donald (10)

 8 The Executioner's Song, Mailer (8)
- 9. The Third World War. Hackett. et al. 10. Shadow of the Moon, Kaye (7)

NONFICTION

- The Complete Scarsdale Medical
 Diet, Tarnower & Baker (1)
- Aunt Erma's Cope Book.
 Bombeck (3)
 Restoring the American Dream.
- Ringer (2)
 4. The Right Stuff, Wolfe (5)
- The Right Stuff, Wolfe (5)
 How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years, Ruff (6)
- The Pritikin Program for Diet and Exercise, Pritikin with McGrady (4)
 The Man Who Kept the Secrets,
- 7. The Man Who Kept the Secrets
 Powers

 8. Cruel Shoes. Martin (7)
- 9. Serpentine. Thompson (9) 10. The Day the Bubble Burst.
 - Thomas & Morgan-Witts

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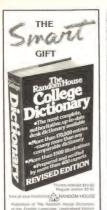
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Cinema

Mod History

QUADROPHENIA Directed by Franc Roddam Screenplay by Dave Humphries, Martin Stellman and Franc Roddam

If you are in the right place at the right time, you can almost hear history shift its gears. Such was the extraordinary phenomenon that occurred in the England of the early 1960s, Working-class kids, inspired by the new British rock, came to-gether to create a new culture. As if by spontaneous combustion, that culture quickly spread beyond England's meaner streets and pubs to the entire world. eventually it defined a generation. To be in the country where the excitement



Phil Daniels in Quadrophenia Life, sex and music in fast motion

began was to see life in fast motion Quadrophenia is a resourceful and frequently successful attempt to recapture the feelings, textures and chaos of that period Unfortunately, the film is saddled with a title that belies its ambitions. Though produced by the rock group The Who and named after one of their albums. Quadrophenia is not a concert film The band members do not appear in the movie as performers but turn up only in the background score and occasional still photographs. Rather than make a safe companion piece to the film version of Tommy. The Who have daringly cross-fertilized American Graffin with Look Buck Like John Osborne's Angry Young

Man of the '50s. the hero of Quadrophenu is named Jimmy Estranged from his family and bored with his London mailrecent job. he has become a member of the mods a loose, antionwide gang of motorbike andies that sprang up with the Mersey sound As the talented director Franc Roddam follows Jimmy and his cornies around, we watch a society being born. When The Who's pivotal song, Mj. Generation, Higs on at a booys make-out parry, the kids forsake their '39s dance steep for the tribal free depend that would not be the steep of the strip of the steep of the strip of the str

time were essentially benign. The director does not always record Jimmy's personal adventures with the same grit and humor that he brings to the film's social canvas. The hero has too many stereotypical conflicts with his overly villainous parents and employers; there are too many scenes that try to convey his sensitivity by showing him brooding on the beach at Brighton. The film's final section, a long chain of cathartic crises. is contrived Still. Phil Daniels, as Jimmy, is both appealingly quirky and a good double for Who Guitarist Pete Townshend. Daniels also has two funny and touching sex scenes. When Jimmy masturbates solemnly at home and later makes inexperienced love to a prized "bird" (Leslie Ash), the film persuasively demonstrates that even the revolutions of the '60s did not overturn the crucial rituals of postadolescence. In those moments. Quadrophenia offers not only historical drama but also the kind of human

Star Muck

METEOR
Directed by Ronald Neame
Screenplay by Stanley Mann
and Edmund H. North

In this year's disaster-move sweeptaikes, the film to beat is The Concorde —dripport 79 That hillarious—some might say seminal—extravaganas boasted such passengers as Suan Blakely as in investigative reporters. Can Adam Arcavicci as a Soviet Olympie gymnast. Chara Martha Rage. Alain Delon. Mercodes McCambridge and Jimmy ("JJ") Walker were also along for the ride. At one point the audience gets in vituose a Blist Andersoon! Cooling Kennedy and

Next to Concorde. Meteor is a paltry piece of goods. The astrophysicists who must save the world from a comet attack include such garden-variety stars as Natalie Wood and Brain Keith thoth with Russian accents; and Sean Connery (inexplicably cast as a NASA scientist). Karl Malden stomps through the film in such

- Frank Rich

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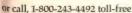
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Cinema

a rage that you would think a hotel had related to honor his traveler's checks. When the comets "splinters" finally hit earth, whiping out a Swiss skir resert and a drivein theater in Pisa, all Meteor can summon up is a few flashes of red light and some whoosh noises. Only at the end is there a convincing special effect a tidal wave of sewage muck that engulfs the New York City subway system. When it comes to excrement, the makers of Meteoretally know their stuff.

Dubious Victory

RUNNING

Directed and Written
by Steven Hilliard Stern

t first it seems that Running might turn A out to be that salutary and as yet unrealized item, a cautionary tale about a man who lets his passion for jogging run away with him. Michael Andropolis (Michael Douglas) is discovered living in a cold-water flat in one of Manhattan's least appetizing districts, a couple of attempts at a respectable career left behind, his wife and two young daughters abandoned also He has sacrificed everything, it seems, in order to take one last shot at a long-held dream: winning a place on the U.S. Olympic team as a marathoner. This is material for a comedy of obsession, the story of a man possessed by a mad and inexplicable passion.

Alas, is merely Rocky in Nikes, we another in the proliferating genre of sports films in which it matters not so much whether the here wiss of loses, but whether or not the audience can witness a satisfying Triumph of the Human Spirit What interess Running generates is in explicating the psychological demons that must be conquered in order to prepare the way for vactory.

These demons turn out to be not very amusing Young Michael. It seems, was reared by a family that overstressed winning. He becames our afried following that he developed to near-genus level the ability to find execuses for not compreting ability to find execuses for not compreting that the prace at the end. All he has to do is run it full out, and if you are actually wondering if he manages to do so, then you had better run right along to Running.

This is not to sign that Douglas is an unappealing actor or than Susan Arapach, has long-suffering spouse, does not have been also as the second of the seco

TIME NOVEMBER 19 1979



Tenneco has invested \$30 million in natural gas exploration in the Canadian Arctic. We are working to bring new supplies of natural gas from frontier areas of Alaska and /e nave found oil and natural as in the Baltimore Canyon the extent is yet to determined. Termsco fras played a wedership role in a plan to bring safural gas from Mex Tennecc is working with the government of Trinidad and Tobago as a source of LNG.



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Our greatest effort as always, will be mude in the Gulf of Wexco. a profile energy source where fenneco has become one of the argest producers of latural gas. Our 61-C platform inner for example, will produce enough natural is. It is part to supply the annual consumption of line yolf Boston. In the last 20 years, Tenneco has spent 5800 million just for the right to explore 117 half leases, and in two of the last fine feather source.

Tenneco is also exploring the nation's Atlantic offshore frontier. We have discovered oil siccoversed oil an natural gas in the Baltimore Carryon, reviving hopes of commercia, production in the irrea. And we drilled the lirst lest wells off the Gergia-Flonda coast. Although unsuccessful so far, we continue to hold leases through the production of the continue to the production of the continue to the production of production

Ol course, Tenneco e active in all major onshore energy-producing, ireas of the United States. And in California is in Joaquin Valley, we participated in the discovery of the largest in field found in the state if the fast 10 years. The full extent of this field is not yet known because its still beno developed.

We are actively seeking ways to bring more energy into the United States from Canada and Mexico Based on major new discoveries Canada will consider this year increasing its export quota for natural gas to the United States We hope to add some of this gas to the 400 million cubic feet a day we already pipe to American consumers from Canada

Tenneco has also spent over \$30 million in exploration for natural gas in the Canadian Arctic Islands where It major new discovery has added significantly to the 14 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves previously found. An application has been made to the Canadian National Energy Board to construct a pipeline to transport this gas to markets in Southern Canada and the U.S.

Mexico has huge reserves of natural gas which could readily be connected to United States pipeline systems, including ours. Tenneco has played a leadership role in just such a proposal. Recent actions by both governments have paved the way for this project to become a reality.

Further aliefd in the Western Hemisphere. Inenneen is working jointly with repowerment of finnideal and Tobago in develop an LNG export project. We bean to bring the gas in squeffed form for a feecawing terminal to be built in the US or Canada At that point it would be returned to its quescour state and piped to our limes serving the assessment and piped to our mess serving the assessment and piped to our justice state of passin morprotee.

These are massive projects and could ultimately mean the investment of billions of dollars. But I accuse the need ... and the opportunity . is secretal. Tenacco's committed to the task. And we reculting most of our effort into the Western Herrich prizer because it is close to home and present a relable energy supply source

Although energy makes up two-thirds of our business. Tennecic continues to supply other basic need, ike flood automotive components chemica, sinus, packaging, farn, and construction machinery, and insurance.

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Theater

Love Apples

ROMANTIC COMEDY by Bernard Slade

Phoebe Craddock (Mia Farrow) first meets Jason Carmichael (Anthony Perkins) on his wedding day. He happens to be nude, and the rest of this comedy at Broadway's Ethel Barrymore Theater is bare in other ways.

Phoebe is a Vermont schoolmarm. Jason is a renowned Broadway playwright. He takes Phoebe on as a working partner, and the pair embark on a platonic but curiously possessive relationship.

Romantic Comedy is one long credibility gap. As comedy it is flush with flip badinage but unilluminated by genuine humor. As romance it is a verbal



Perkins and Farrow in Romantic Comedy Flip badinage and a long credibility gap.

sparring match with mighty few em tional clinches. There is no discernible chemical affinity between these two antiseptic people.

Part of the trouble is in the writing and part in the playing. For a boy-meetsgirl play to exercise its potential magic, there must be beguiling charm and a contagious affection. Farrow and Perkins project neither. Farrow's Phoebe is naive without the endearing thread of homespun innocence. Her vocal habit of putting equal stress on each syllable, word and sentence leads to aural torpor. Perkins' Jason is waspish and petulant without a trace of roguish lovability

One ends up caring only for the peripheral characters. Jason's wife (Holly Palance) seems to defrost a room when she enters it-in this case, Douglas W. Schmidt's handsomely designed townhouse study. Phoebe's husband (Greg Mullavey) is decent, amusing and sweet. But who admires a frame without a - T.E. Kalem picture?

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Press

Mr. Dogpatch

Al Capp, 1909-79



Their names were enough to make most Americans guffaw: Moonbeam McSwine, Fearless Fosdick, Lonesome Polecat, Joe (pronounced Btfsplk Btfsplk). For 43 years they frolicked across the funny pages lampooning the foibles of the high and mighty

Capp by Capp and mouthing the pungent politics of their raspyvoiced creator, Al Capp. He called his hillbilly vaudeville Li'l Abner, and it made him a wealthy man, though not an especially happy one. Racked by emphysema and distressed by the social changes he saw around him, Capp abruptly retired in 1977. He took up a reclusive

life in Cambridge, Mass., where he died

last week at age 70 Capp's Dogpatch was home not only for wide-eyed, molasses-brained Abner Yokum, but for his scrappy, pipe-smoking Mammy, his Pappy and his wonderfully curvaceous inamorata, Daisy Mae. Their amoozin' but confoozin' antics were eventually syndicated in 900 newspapers with an estimated readership of 90 million. Li'l Abner inspired a Broadway musical, two movies and a television show, earned Capp \$500,000 a year at its peak and introduced Sadie Hawkins Day, the Schmoo Kickapoo Joy Juice and Lower Slobbovia into the American lexicon.

n the 1960s Capp soured on his liberal friends. Said he: "They seemed to me smug and sanctimonious." He traded in his old Establishment targets, like the baby-kissing Senator Jack S. Phogbound, and replaced them with the likes of Radical Folk Singer Joanie Phoanie, who sang of protest between mouthfuls of caviar, and S.W.I.N.E.-Students Wildly Indignant About Nearly Everything. A favorite target of campus hecklers. Capp received notoriety during a lecture tour in 1971, pleading guilty to attempted adultery after a woman student accused him of making indecent advances. As Capp became more conservative. Li'l Abner's popularity waned, and he was down to 400



Newswatch/Thomas Griffith

Soft on Issues, Sharp on Scores

When uneven football games get out of hand, sacking the quarterback becomes an exercise that any number can play. That's the way it has been for Jimmy Carter since early in this political season. If Brezhnev, Castro, Schmidt, Begin and López Portillo could do it, who's to stop William Safire? Since his increasing respectability as a Washington columnist, people have proclaimed the existence of a new Safire, but the old Nixonian Safire keeps popping up: there he was, calling Carter "the best U.S. President the Soviet Union ever had."

Columnists' condescension toward Carter is widespread in Washington. Witness Clayton Fritchey: "President Carter says he doesn't 'panic in a crisis.' But that's not the problem. The problem is that he panics without a crisis." The sagacious George F. Will has reasoned that "the national interest" dictates that Carter should be eliminated from the 1980 presidential race, and as quickly as possible. If George Will had been old enough to pundit in 1948, would he have summoned the national interest against Harry Truman too?

Carter's low popular standing has brought on one of those self-conscious selfexaminations that the press constantly undergoes: Seeing Carter's troubles, has the press deliberately built up Ted Kennedy? To such an accusation from a Washington Post reader, the paper's ombudsman, Charles B. Seib, pleads not guilty. The Washington press corps as a group does not have the visceral dislike of Car-

ter it had of Nixon, Seib wrote, it is not "unfriendly toward Carter or sold on the idea that Kennedy would make a great President." Seib conceded, however, that "we of the media like conflict, tension, the suspense of contest. We like these things because they make good copy. Our banner might well carry the motto 'Let's You and Him Fight' . . . We desperately need a contest." That answer doesn't satisfy New York's Lieutenant Governor



Mario M. Cuomo, a Carter Selb of the Post

Safire of the Times supporter. He accuses the press of being "in love with Ted Kennedy" and adds: "Jimmy Carter is a bore, and I think the media cannot tolerate a bore. That's not the way to pick a President.' But surely a weakened President and a Kennedy in the wings were a combus-

tible situation that didn't need the press to ignite. A more serious charge against the press than favoritism is that it constantly covers political primaries as horse races instead of contests of men and issues. and devotes most of its time to handicapping them. That is the valid complaint of political scientists about the 1976 campaign coverage. Why not talk more about the issues? The fact is that the candidates quickly develop, and tirelessly repeat, a pat little passage of reverberatory obfuscation on any controversial issue. True, there is currently some fascination, and some suspense, in watching Candidate Howard Baker, the Senate minority leader, calibrate the exact degree of his opposition to the SALT treaty. And it was exhilarating to see John Connally playing catch-up, firing that long bomb of his about the Middle East-with results that have persuaded no other candidate of the usefulness of candor. But what happens when candidates no longer define issues as they used to be defined in terms of priorities in spending, or in terms of problems and solutions? Both Kennedy and Connally declare the election issue in 1980 to be something as nebulous as "leadership." If, instead, the issue were to be defined just as intangibly as "character" in the candidate, would either Kennedy or Connally be so eager to make a campaign issue of it? (On many a newspaper, such a question would itself be regarded as loaded and would be edited out; the usual rule is: let an opponent raise the question, then quote him.)

In the present murky confusion, the press finds it safer and easier just to keep score-to concentrate on who's ahead in the polls or at the polls. That's not particularly elevating, but neither is politics itself these days.



Who could blame you?

